Daily Report

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Ganev Only Mentioned as Possible Candidate

AU0512214690 Sofia BTA in English 2033 GMT 5 Dec 90

["The Agreement Has Not Been Presented Yet"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 5 (BTA)—The agreement may be announced tomorrow—the greatest optimists about the consultations between the main political forces, which started after the resignation of Mr. Andrey Lukanov, say once again.

But the spokesman of the UDF [Union of Democratic Forces—SDS], for instance, says that this can happen only at the end of the week.

Today, quoting a participant in the consultations, Radio Sofia announced that the agreement has been reached and that its text is ready. The 62-year old deputy chairman of the parliament had "received the greatest sympathies" during the negotiations between the political forces for the post of prime minister. The BTA transmitted this earlier today.

Asked for some details, participants in the consultations said later that everything is possible, but stressed that the talks are continuing this evening.

A few names were mentioned, one of them being that of Ginyo Ganev, a participant in the consultations on the side of the UDF told a BTA reporter. He can "slide" and this is important in the situation we are in. But he is associated with the Fatherland Union (the new name of the fatherland front) and this would impede him, just like the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] impeded Lukanov, the UDF participant in the consultations said. A BTA representative has seen the presumable complete text of the agreement. But it turned out that it was a text proposed by the BSP which was rejected by the opposition.

According to this text "the political forces note that after November 10, as a successor of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], the BSP has repeatedly stated that it undertakes the responsibility for the government of the country in the past few decades and participated in the elections from this stand."

The text also says that both the parties and the syndicates, and the companies running their property should present reports of their incomes in money and in kind, including from abroad as well as their expenditures in 1990 and announce their property on December 31, 1989 and in 1990. The preceding periods are not mentioned.

According to the proposed text the political forces which sign the agreement undertake to support all political activities including in the form of syndicalist associations of political purposes, tasks and demands in the radio and the television.

Ginyo Ganev Biography

AU0512152890 Sofia BTA in English 1446 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 5'(BTA)—Representatives of the political forces agreed today that the new Bulgarian Government should be headed by the present National Assembly deputy chairman Ginyo Ganev.

According to information which has still not been officially confirmed, after consultations which lasted a week, the candidature of 62-year old jurist collected most of the votes given at the end of the consultations, at which the final text of a political agreement was also adopted.

According to this agreement the new cabinet will be called a "national government of the peaceful transition to democracy."

This will be the first multi-party Bulgarian Government after the country was ruled for 42 years by the Communists in an ostensible coalition with the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), which the former controlled.

Ginyo Ganev gained certain prestige over the last months as he was the only one who managed to put some order in the turbulent parliamentary sessions. He is a non-party man and has worked as a legal adviser and chief secretary at the Ministry of Energy and in the last years of the totalitarian regime was in the leadership of the bureaucratic public organization of the Fatherland Front. When in the spring of this year this organization's name was changed to Fatherland Union, he was elected its chairman. This organization itself will probably soon fall to pieces, as in the past it existed under the close control of the Communist Party through state subsidies and maintaining under compulsion its reputation of the "most numerous socio-political organization."

Mr. Ganev has been a member of the figurehead State Council for 4 years and an M.P. for 12 years in the even more figurehead National Assembly at the time of Zhivkov. The lack of other suitable nominations, non-committed to one or another party, and the constructive activity of Mr. Ganev in parliament have possibly inclined the preferences to his avail.

Mr. Ganev is married to the daughter of Kimon Georgiev, a politician popular in the past, who always appeared on the political stage at critical points. Kimon Georgiev was one of the main organizers of two military coups in June 1923 and in May 1934. He headed the first government after the Communists took the rule of the country in 1944 with Soviet assistance, and occupied after that responsible positions in government up to 1962.

Refuses Prime Minister Post

AU0612133490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1307 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Statement by Valentin Stoyanov, spokesman of the president of the Republic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Today's session of the Political Consultative Council was interrupted so that the Grand National Assembly could hold its session.

The session will continue tomorrow morning, and it is almost certainly expected that Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, will announce the name of the new prime minister who will form the new government of peaceful transition to democracy, in parliament tomorrow afternoon.

It was announced at today's session that the political agreement has been practically concluded while the representatives of the political forces were surprised that a draft agreement was already announced by the media.

At the meeting President Doctor Zhelev proposed Mr. Ginyo Ganev for the post of Council of Ministers chairman. Despite the fact that all political forces approve this nomination, Mr. Ganev refused on the basis of his important work at the Grand National Assembly.

The political forces confirmed their commitment of last week to elect a neutral political figure for the post of prime minister. The proposal of the present prime minister, Andrey Lukanov, that the negotiations with the International Monetary Fund should be pursued by a group of experts on national level was accepted. The composition of the group will be coordinated at tomorrow's meeting of the Political Consultative Council.

Beron Denies Collaboration With State Security

AU0512140790 Sofia BTA in English 1331 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 5 (BTA)—"A plot designed by my communist enemies and by certain individuals of the opposition led by their personal ambitions." These are the words Mr. Petur Beron, the outgoing leader of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], used to describe the accusations of having collaborated with Department Six of the State Security, levelled at him by the Podkrepa leader Dr. Konstantin Trenchev.

I have never been a "cop" as Trenchev asserts, Mr. Petur Beron told the BTA correspondent to Budapest Veselin Markov. The outgoing leader of the opposition said that he has proved "where his place is" with his entire work in the UDF, that "there is nothing he can be ashamed of" and that his wish to resign has nothing to do with "the blackmail against me."

Mr. Petur Beron categorically denied having had anything to do with the notorious Department Six (the thought police of the totalitarian regime), of the existence of which he had learnt only on November 10, 1989. His contacts with the secret services come down to the periodical preparation of reports about foreigners who visited the Natural History Museum in Sofia, the international department of which Mr. Beron headed.

He had presented reports at the specialized services after each of his frequent travels abroad as a biologist, which is a usual practice of the counterintelligence, Mr. Beron explained.

"It is absolutely untrue that I have informed the secret militia about dissidents," he said.

The reports were really signed in the name of "Bonchev" at the request of these services. Not a single Bulgarian or foreign citizen has suffered from these reports. If they can prove the contrary, let them do it, Mr. Beron said.

In the meantime it was announced in the parliament that Dr. Trenchev's source of information is the jurisconsult of Podkrepa, a former collaborator of Department Six.

SDS Council Accepts Beron Resignation

AU0612111690 Sofia BTA in English 1042 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 6 (BTA)—Today the Coordinational Council of the UDF [Union of Democratic Forces—SDS] accepted the resignation of its chairman Mr. Petur Beron.

Only one member of the council abstained from voting, but not because of considerations of principle, Mr. Stoyan Ganev told the BTA. The principal motive for the resignation of the UDF leader is his intention to devote himself to scientific work, as was said at the briefing of the UDF on Monday, Mr. Ganev repeated. But the opposition will devote special attention to the materials of the much talked about scandal around Mr. Beron who was accused of having collaborated with the secret services. This afternoon the Coordinational Council will resume its session together with the parliamentary group of the UDF.

Three New Deputy Prime Ministers Named

AU0512124490 Sofia BTA in English 1227 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 5 (BTA)—The participants in the consultations, representatives of all political forces in parliament, have agreed to elect three economists as deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers: Ivan Kostov from the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), Georgi Pirinski, from the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party, and Asen Panayotov from the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union].

The cabinet will have 11 ministries distributed as follows: 4 for the SDS and BSP and 3 for the BZNS.

The Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Interior will be distributed between the SDS and the BSP and there is also a possibility that both be headed by people from the opposition.

Independent TU's Call Off Strikes 6 Dec

AU0512210890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria has issued an appeal to all the members and supporters of the independent trade unions.

The appeal states that the leaderships of a few trade union federations are calling for an extraordinary congress and are organizing a petition for the resignation of Prof. Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Confederation.

This activity is being undertaken at a moment when over 100,000 members of the organization are on strike in defense of their socioeconomic and labor interests, the appeal states, and goes on to describe the action by a group of functionaries in a few federations as an unprecedented step in the history of the trade union movement in Bulgaria.

Being aware of its responsibility toward its members, the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions recommends that the trade union organizations call off their strike actions as of tomorrow, 6 December, while remaining ready to strike.

DPS Supports Striking Students' Demands

AU0512200290 Sofia BTA in English 1912 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 5 (BTA)—The Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) also supports the demands of the students on strike and is prepared to stand surety for them in parliament.

The Union of Democratic Forces has also expressed its readiness to guarantee the demands of the students in parliament.

In a declaration, published this evening, the DPS once again insists on the adoption of normative documents on the nationalization of the property of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], now BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], and also on the issue of the guilt.

The DPS insists that the participants in the so-called "revival process" be held responsible six years ago, when the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria were forced to change their names. [sentence as received]

The DPS wants those responsible for the current crisis in Bulgaria to be held responsible too.

M.P.'s Petition for Todorov Resignation

AU0512203990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] The consultations between the political forces are continuing. According to some participants, progress is being made, but according to others, some clauses in the agreement still remain that must be further discussed. According to BTA, the optimists expect the document to be signed within the next few days, while the pessimists expect the signing to take place next week at the earliest.

A petition has also been started among members of parliament calling for the resignation of Nikolay Todorov, chairman of the Grand National Assembly. The person responsible for the idea is Ms. Lea Koen. According to unofficial data, about 170 representatives of the political forces in parliament have signed the petition. The collection of signatures continues.

Radical Democrat Leaders on Political Bloc

AU0512214890 Sofia BTA in English 2103 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 5 (BTA)—The Radical Democratic Party stands to the right of the centre of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS], the leader of the party, Prof. Elka Konstantinova, said, explaining that steps are being taken towards the formation of a right political bloc in the union with the Alternative Socialist Party, the Green Party, the Democratic Party and the Democratic Forum.

At a press conference held here today in connection with the first anniversary of the restoration of the Radical Democratic Party, Prof. Elka Konstantinova said that her party is continuing to struggle for the unity of the UDF. The party would leave the union when this becomes imperative or when it is convinced that the UDF is pursuing a course of totalitarianism and violence and that it is leading the country to civil war. According to her, for the time being there is no such thing.

The leadership of the Radical Democratic Party still has some reservations towards the disclosures made by Mr. Konstantin Trenchev about the collaboration of the UDF leader Mr. Petur Beron with the State Security.

At the press conference Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov, one of the leaders of the Radical Democratic Party, was pointed to as one of the possible successors of Mr. Petur Beron.

At the same press conference Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov described the political agreement under preparation between the political forces as a working protocol fixing the activities through which the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] is "to part with power" and through which Bulgaria would effect a real transition to democracy. He is against the term "neutral person" for the post of prime minister and is for a strong and energetic government which would abruptly effect the transition and the

change of the system. The Radical Democratic Party supports the candidatures of the economists Ivan Kostov and Ivan Pushkarov for the prime minister post.

Role of Radical Democratic Party Within SDS

AU0512174390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] The first anniversary of the establishment of the Radical Democratic Party was marked at a news conference of the party's leaders today.

Professor Elka Konstantinova, chairman of the party, briefed the journalists on the role of the Radical Democratic Party within the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], on its structure, and activities.

The party has as many as 140 local organizations with over 10,000 members. The chief objective of the Radical Democratic Party is the improvement of culture and education in the country, and the intellectual level of the Bulgarian nation, as a whole.

We would like to apply the experience of those civilized countries which have realized that everything connected with socialism and with social democracy at the threshold the 21st century is hopelessly outdated, Elka Konstantinova declared.

Aleksandur Yordanov stressed that the Radical Democratic Party continues to insist that the prime minister of a future government should be an SDS member. The version of a neutral political figure would be very convenient for the Bulgarian Socialist Party, but it could not guarantee a change of the current system. This is the view of the Radical Democratic Party.

Following Petur Beron's presumed resignation, Aleksandur Yordanov would run for one of the two vacant posts, namely chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council, or chairman of the SDS parliamentary group.

The Radical Democratic Party is now involved in negotiations with representatives of the Alternative Socialist Party, with representatives of the Green Party, with Representatives of the Democratic Party, and with the United Democratic Center for the possible establishment of a Liberal Union within the SDS.

Coalition of Parties Outside Parliament Formed

AU0512204090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] A national coalition has been formed by the political forces outside parliament. The signed agreement states that the coalition will work for the formation of a government from political parties and movements of the center and to the right, whose representatives are not involved in the corrupt actions of the past governments and formations.

The agreement has been signed by over 20 parties and movements.

ASO Political History, Future Chances Analyzed

AU0412092690 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 1 Dec 90 p 4

[Ruen Krumov article: "The End of a Delusion"]

[Text] It is a well known fact that efforts to reform and innovate the Communist parties in the former socialist countries of Central Europe, such as Poland, the former GDR, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, were a failure. The name "Communist Party" disappeared and was replaced by the Social Democrats in Poland, by the Party of Democratic Socialism in East Germany, and by the Socialist Party in Hungary.

Could Bulgaria be an exception in this Central European phenomenon? Some political analysts answer this question, pointing out that the changes in the former socialist countries of Central Europe resulted from mass demonstrations in the streets backed by a powerful opposition. The picture in our country was totally different, considering that the initiative was adopted by the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. The hope existed that the party might hold the initiative also in the future, after its reform and renewal.

This was the goal of the Alternative Socialist Association [ASO] which was founded on 5 January 1990 at the Sofia Cinema Club. It was established as a faction of the BCP. The majority of ASO members were members of the Glasnost and Restructuring Club which played an important, positive role in the formation of the dissident movement in our country prior to 10 November 1989. The majority of the club's activists were BCP members, or former members. Some of them, such as Zhelyu Zhelev, Petko Simenonov, Chavdar Kyuranov, and others were among the founders of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] on 7 December 1989. (I also belonged to this group as representative of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party). After some hesitation, Chavdar Kyuranov left the SDS and remained a BCP member, as a result of which he was appointed to highranking posts in the Supreme Council. The majority of the Communists who were members of the Glasnost and Restructuring Club, such as Kiril Vasilev, Nikolay Vasilev, his son, Ivan Nikolov, Ivan Dzhadzhev, Valentin Vatsev, Nedyalko Yordanov, and others, were founders of ASO. The objective of this BCP faction was to reform the Communist Party and turn it into a modern, left-wing party.

Nevertheless, ASO was divided by a split as early as at its first nationwide conference. Some of the leaders, headed by Nikolay Vasilev, thought that an internal reform of the BCP was a hopeless affair and established the Alternative Socialist Party [ASP]. Thus, along with the traditional Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, headed by Petur Dertliev which was restored as early as on 26 November 1989, along with the socalled New Social Democratic Party, along with the Non Marxist Social Democratic Party (headed by Yanko Yankov), along with the "Asen Zlatarov" Debating Society, consisting of

former Social Democrats who joined the BCP, as early as in 1945—along with all these parties—another socialist party emerged. Both the ASO and the ASP ran for the Grand National Assembly elections on separate tickets, outside the two large political formations. The results were disappointing, considering that the voters did not follow either of the two "alternative" groups, which could not obtain even one percent of the votes. Despite the fact that brilliant intellectuals and experts participated in both groups, none of them was elected member of parliament.

A new split occurred at the Fourth National ASO Conference on 21 July 1990. Part of the delegates, headed by Ivan Kalchev separated from the ASO and declared themselves independent. Along with the "blue" daily DEN, which remained the organ of the ASO faction, a "black" newspaper DEN also appeared. A short time later, the Independent ASO faction was renamed Forum of Free Democrats.

ASO, which continued to exist as a reform group of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], suffered another blow at the latest BSP Congress, at which none of its leaders was elected to the BSP Supreme Council. The congress reacted with disgust and hostility against the "declaration of guilt" read by ASO member Nedyalko Yordanov. It was evident that even the young congress delegates, although distancing themselves from the old BCP, are not inclined to follow the ASO reformers. In the same inexorable spirit in which they eliminated most of Aleksandur Lilov's fellow-workers from the BSP Supreme Council (although they voted confidence to Lilov himself), they also eliminated the ASO reformers and the members of the BSP Movement for Radical Change.

The logical result of this development and the ensuing disappointment of the ASO members concerning the possibility of an internal BSP reform, resulted in a new split within ASO. On 20 October 1990 the ASO Conference declared the separation from the BSP with a majority of 57 against 42 votes. Despite the fact that the personal ambitions for leadership played a no less important role than ideological considerations for the gradual disintegration of the ASO faction, I am convinced that the recent vote marks the end of a delusion, namely that the BSP is an exception to the general trends of development involving the former East European communist parties.

The ASP understood that it has no chances of winning confidence as an independent alternative faction and applied for SDS membership, which means that former Communists will achieve new commanding positions with the SDS. The Forum of Free Democrats also applied for SDS membership.

Manol Manolov, the new ASO chairman, declared that his association aspires for the establishment of a new social democratic center in our country playing an intermediate role between the BSP and the SDS. The future will show whether this will be another delusion considering that, for the time being at least, there are no points of contact between the real Social Democrats and the pseudo Social Democratic movements in our country.

BSP Regional Council Established in Plovdiv

AU0412092390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 1 Dec 90 p 2

[Stefan Severin report]

[Text] Plovdiv, 30 December—A Regional Coordination Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] was established in Plovdiv. In addition to representatives of the 12 municipalities of the former Plovdiv Okrug, it also consists of members of the BSP Supreme Council and socialist deputies. Petko Tsarev, chairman of the BSP Plovdiv Municipal Council, was elected chairman of the BSP Plovdiv Regional Council.

The council is based on the principle of voluntary work. It will discuss, direct, and coordinate the activity of the municipal party councils in anything related to general problems and tasks, exchange experiences, and determine the directions of its practical activity.

Army Spokesman Denounces Commentator for Slander

AU0512111390 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Nov 90 p 1

[Statement by Lieutenant General Ivan Stefanov: "This Is Instigation, Mr. Bocharov"]

[Text] The Army is part of our society. The country's political situation, the general democratization process in our lives, and the economic crisis affect all members of the Army personnel like all other citizens. The results from the practical application of the Law on Political Parties in the Army are expected to be publicized within the upcoming days.

The honor of the Bulgarian People's Army not only depends on the professional skills and civic virtues of the Army personnel. It depends on our propaganda institutions, on the mass media that frequently show, or interpret, the work and life of the Bulgarian Republic's protectors in a rather subjective manner. Violations of discipline, social problems, and the development of the democratic processes were the main targets of media commentaries for a long time, and we carefully read and analyzed every line written about the Army. Nevertheless, we must energetically protest when the fundamental principles of the Armed Forces' structure are trampled upon, or the basic relations between members of the Army personnel are totally misrepresented.

In the latest broadcast of the Bulgarian Televisions's "Every Sunday" Program, Mr. Petko Bocharov addressed the young generation whose members are "called upon to accomplish revolutionary changes in

Bulgaria," as he expressed himself, and he counted "the young people serving in the Armed Forces among the intellectual elite of the nation." However, he did not hesitate to create a confrontation betweeen them and their elders, the senior officers. This is a striking instigation to disobedience, it encourages the young people to criminal behavior, which is inadmissible and cannot be tolerated in any Army whatsoever anywhere in the world.

All during the period following 10 November 1989, the Army's behavior never gave cause for such negative evaluations. Our Army has always devoted its efforts to guaranteeing the peaceful development of the country's democratization process.

These days the Army came to the rescue of public city transport in the capital so that the citizens may be able to reach their workplaces and their homes on time, for which they are sincerely grateful.

The leadership of the Ministry of Defense is concerned about Bulgaria's well-being, about our country's inviolability and security. This is the reason why we are serving in the barracks. This the reason why we have no time to waste for slandering others, like you do Mr. Bocharov! Your position only deserves to be condemned, and no one in the Bulgarian People's Army would support it.

Yours is an attempt to demoralize the Army and to divert it from its tasks. In this connection we propose that the Chief Prosecutor of the Republic of Bulgaria should assess the behavior of a Bulgarian Television commentator.

Signed: Lieutenant General Ivan Stefanov, spokesman of the Ministry of National Defense.

Militia Trade Union on Public Image, Militia Law

AU0512173690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] A news conference of the Independent Trade Union of the Militia Employees in Bulgaria took place today. This is what Angel Kuzmanov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Federation of Independent Trade Union Organizations of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Employees told us:

[Begin Kuzmanov recording] For the time being, the public image of the militia organs is still unsatisfactory. There is a negative attitude accumulated over the years, which under the current tensions, is expressed in a rather hostile approach to the activities of the militia members who are being criticized by all political forces. People somehow cannot understand that the employees of the Internal Affairs Ministry are unwilling to serve any political force whatsoever. Currently I have the feeling that every political force is trying to pull the militia organs to its side, in the hope that it can be used to its own advantages.

This is how I explain the constant attacks against us. People cannot understand that under multiparty system we cannot and must not serve any political force.

Our second requirement is that the Grand National Assembly should adopt a law on the militia, or the police, as I think it should be renamed, considering that our work is essentially police work, and they should adopt it as soon as possible. For this reason I believe that a law on the police should be adopted.

Another problem is related to our social welfare. We are not talking so much about our own privileges, but about the requirement for better technical equipment and other means. We are demanding modern motor vehicles equipped with updated, special instruments likely to facilitate crime detection and prevention.

We also demand independence for the militia organs and professional leadership. We demand that the leader of the relevant department, or the minister in question be a politically independent figure, that he be a highly qualified specialist acquainted with our work and be capable of efficiently supervising the militia organs. In addition to this and in order to achieve this goal, we demand that the militia organs not be subordinate to the National Security Service. [end recording]

Poor Management Structure at Nuclear Plant Viewed

AU0512164290 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 4 Dec 90 p 2

[Valeri Vedov article: "Let Us Look Into the Chaos"]

[Text] Hours before the experts in the OSART [Operational Safety Review Team] mission of the IAEA were due to arrive in Kozloduy, we talked to Ivan Ivanov, chief engineer of Nos. 5 and 6 Generating Units. Among the many questions concerning the preparations of the staff of the No. 5 unit for the forthcoming inspection, we asked him if there was anything that troubled him, and which he felt was a vulnerable spot. "The only thing is our organizational structure," he replied. "The foreign experts will not understand it, as it is so complex...."

A week later, when the international mission had completed its inspection of the No. 5 unit, we read the following, among other things, in the mission's findings: "The organizational structure of the nuclear power plant (the No. 5 Generating Unit—author's note) is assessed as extremely complex and inefficient, and hampers the application of modern management methods."

The diplomatic phrases conceal the fact that the management staff of the No. 5 unit (and not only this unit) is three or four times larger that those of similar generating units abroad. Paradoxically, at the same time there is a shortage of operating staff, and their numbers are steadily falling. In order to ensure normal operation of the No. 5 unit, 24 duty engineers working in six shifts are

needed. At present the unit is staffed by only 16 engineers from the operating staff, divided into four shifts. The strain on them is immense, and it is no wonder that fewer and fewer specialists want to sit at the numerous control desks monitoring the systems in the unit's control room.

The specialists in the management of the No. 5 Unit with whom we spoke themselves feel that the present management structures are not only inefficient, but literally hinder their daily work. This structure, which was inherited from the totalitarian system and has remained almost unchanged, has also expanded, among other things, as a result of the excessive concentration of nuclear capacities in a single location. Through copying the Soviet structure, our own nuclear energy industry developed all the ills of the former, and its structure became even more complex because of numerous duplications of activities and departments. The result was that in the Nuclear Energy Industry Economic Trust, as in the whole of our state economy, no one is directly interested in efficient operation, nor has any connection with profit. At Kozloduy the old style of operations no longer works. Under that system a single telephone call could resolve many issues, and an enterprise, for example, could stop its main production and start working for the Kozloduy Nuclear Plant. At the same time, however, nothing new was imposed, and the staff of the nuclear power plant continue to be stifled by the final efforts of the bankrupt planned economy and administrative authority, still acting in the old way.

The immediate managing staff of the No. 5 unit number about 100 persons, assigned to different sections and departments. In most countries with developed nuclear industries, the management staff of such a unit rarely includes more than 20 specialists. Many departments are duplicated, and it is quite natural to combine and merge them. For example, the No. 5 unit has a nuclear safety section, directly answerable to the chairman of the Nuclear Energy Industry Economic Trust. However, a separate "Safety" department exists, which in addition to technical supervision also covers nuclear safety. Such a "division" merely increases the chaos among the experts, who cannot even discover who their real immediate superior is. The position is similar in the other sections of the management team. Many reorganizations have been made, but all of them were primarily concerned with reassigning specialists and creating new posts and departments in the wide activities of the nuclear energy industry. The last "reorganization" this fall renamed the director of operations of the No. 5 and 6 units a chief engineer, while the former chief specialists and specialists were renamed experts. The management structure, instead of being simplified, became more complex. "As a result of this," Ivan Kalev, an expert for technical operations, told us, "I have two chiefs in different departments, but my work has not been improved in any way."

The fault in the No. 5 unit generator once again revealed the chaos in maintenance work. On the one hand, there exists a central maintenance staff, concentrated in the "Atomenergoremont" Enterprises, and on the other, every workshop attached to every generating unit has its own maintenance group. To the IAEA specialists, such a system seemed wasteful, to put it mildly. At most Western nuclear power plants repairs and maintenance are carried out by outside firms, which are paid for specific work done, thus obviating the need to permanently support an expensive maintenance staff. Special operations support groups exist which, thanks to modern communications (radio telephones, radio stations, and so on) are always available, even out of working time, and can be summoned within minutes.

There indeed were grounds (which still exist) for Chief Engineer Ivan Ivanov to be concerned over the power plant's management structure. Of the foreign experts who visit the plant, only the Soviet ones can make some sense of it, while the others merely shrug their shoulders and refuse to enter into the chaos. Let us bear this in mind when we decide that the reason for the often inefficient operation of our nuclear energy industry lies solely in the poorly constructed apparatus and machinery.

Maritsa Plant Breakdown Causes Power Cuts

AU0512165990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 4 Dec 90 p 1

[Evgeni Gavrilov report]

[Text] A 210-megawatt power unit was put out of operation at the Maritsa-Wast 2 Electric Power Plant yesterday because of a breakdown, Sergey Shishkov, spokesman of the Power Supply Committee announced. This was the reason for the re-introduction of the so-called "light-dark" power-cuts schedule for one hour every three hours at peak times between 1700 and 2200. According to experts, the Maritsa East breakdown could be repaired as early as today.

As a result of the new difficulties that re-emerged in the electric power supply sector, power supply restrictions were also introduced for industrial enterprises of the fourth group determined on the basis of a preliminary schedule.

During the past week electric power consumption diminished by 13 percent compared with the previous days. This is the main reason that made it possible to eliminate the power cuts in recent days.

According to the Power Supply Committee spokesman, the only alternative to compulsory restrictions are voluntary restrictions. This principle was already successfully applied in Varna. The power supply was cut only when the power consumption limit was exeeded. This experience was not applied in Sofia so far, it has only been discussed.

Gotsev on Support for U.S. Gulf Policy

AU0512214990 Sofia BTA in English 2048 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, December 5 (BTA)—Bulgaria's Foreign Minister Mr. Lyuben Gotsev presented to the U.S. ambassador to Bulgaria his reply to the letter of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker of December 1 including information about the diplomatic steps recently taken by the United States in connection with the crisis in the Persian Gulf.

In his reply Mr. Lyuben Gotsev points out that "in the latest diplomatic initiatives of President Bush Bulgaria sees the desire of the United States to use all possibilities for the peaceful settlement of the crisis in the Persian Gulf, including direct contacts and dialogue with Iraq, something which we fully support."

Minister Lyuben Gotsev recalls Bulgaria's principled stand in connection with Iraq's aggression in Kuwait, her support for the efforts of the UN Security Council for the peaceful settlement of the crisis including the introduction of all-embracing economic sanctions which Bulgaria is strictly observing in spite of the enormous economic losses she is suffering.

Declaring Bulgaria's unreserved support for the efforts of the UN Security Council, of the United States and of the other states for finding a political solution to the Persian Gulf crisis, Mr. Lyuben Gotsev adds that "if all diplomatic efforts fail to yield the desired result, Bulgaria will support all further necessary actions of the international community based on Resolution 678."

Importance of Treaty With Turkey Analyzed

AU0412114590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Nov 90 p 4

[Boyko Pangelov commentary: "Is a Treaty With Turkey Sufficient?"]

[Text] According to some Turkish newspapers Turgut Ozal, president of our southern neighbor, has stated in Paris that "Turkey should not ignore the possibility of signing a non-aggression treaty with Bulgaria."

Despite the fact that the statement was not made officially, the idea corresponds with the desire Bulgaria expressed in recent years. Long ago our country proposed signing such a document (or a similar document). This happened at the Vienna meeting between Mladenov and Hafezoglu, and at the Kuwait meetings of the two countries' ministers of foreign affairs. Explaining its proposals, Bulgaria also stressed its concern with its own national security, prompted not only by Turkey's military superiority, but also by the past statements of responsible Turkish politicians, which contained overt threats against Bulgaria.

After signing the treaty on conventional disarmament the Turkish Army will continue to be superior to the Bulgarian Army. However, for Bulgaria the necessity of signing such an agreement with Turkey is greater than ever in recent decades, because the defensive umbrella, which could shield us from an aggression, will disappear with the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact. The changes in Eastern Europe placed our country in an even more unfavorable situation. The Vienna and Paris agreements in themselves are an excellent achievement and fully satisfy most European states. However, most Bulgarians consider them insufficient for guaranteeing our security. The situation in the Balkans, as well as the internal political situation in our country, have a specific character. Therefore, the additional guarantees of strengthening security, that our diplomats will seek, also must have a specific character. Bilateral agreements—regardless of how anachronistic they may appear against the background of striving to create a European system of collective security—appear to be desirable. Such agreements could be signed not only with Turkey, but also with Greece and Yugoslavia.

Of course, even the best document cannot offer ideal defense. Therefore the more important factor is to construct such a Bulgaria, with which the neighbors would be interested to cooperate. It would hardly sound serious to say that somebody intends to attack Sweden or Austria—despite the fact that they are neutral states. On the contrary—when one mentions the names of those states, the second thing that immediately comes to mind after the word "wealth," is economic interest. This also is the decisive factor in adopting political decisions.

Klaus Comments on Outcome of Local Elections

AU0512133990 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 1 Dec 90 p 1

["mes"-signed report: "Optimism and Prudence"]

[Excerpt] Prague— At the regular Friday [30 November] briefing for journalists by the Civic Forum [OF] leadership, Vaclav Klaus, the movement's chairman, naturally commented on the outcome of the local elections. In his opinion, the elections were a "victory of reason over emotions." They were not primarily political because citizens were not choosing between parties but were picking the most competent people for town halls. This is why the dispersion of votes was greater than during the preceding parliamentary elections.

The OF chairman considers the results of nationalist-oriented parties in Slovakia, but also in Moravia, as a rejection of these parties. The election turnout, which was higher than in the neighboring countries on similar occasions, testifies primarily to the public's steady interest in political matters. [passage omitted]

Klaus Statement on Necessity of Federal Policies

AU0512131790 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 29 Nov 90 p 13

[Statement by Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus in FORUM: "The Federation Means Obligations"]

[Text] It is difficult to imagine a single economy without a single taxation and prices policy. For example, what would you say if a certain product was burdened by a different turnover tax in Slovakia than in Bohemia and Moravia? This would, understandably, also be reflected in the product's price. It is certainly possible to talk about the potential risk of differing price regulation. The fact that in some places the same product may be subjected to regulation and that in other places its price may be determined freely is not compatible with the concept of a single market within the framework of the CSFR. Could you imagine, for example, significant differences at the income tax level? I could not imagine this and, therefore, this is why I am appealing for the single arrangement of these issues throughout the country.

This whole policy also has foreign and political dimensions. We have joined several international institutions not as the Czech Republic or the Slovak Republic, but as the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. We have accepted certain obligations as a federation and we have to adhere to them as a federation. It would be possible to continue specifying the arguments for retaining considerable jurisdiction on the federal level; however, I would like to emphasize that this is in the interest of the republics themselves. If Czech and Slovak representatives proceed separately to the detriment of the federation, then, this is not a guarantee for the future.

Dubcek's Absence From Parliament Session Noted

AU0612104090 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Dec 90 p 1

[Tatiana Repkova commentary: "Coincidence or Deliberation....?"]

[Text] When I was in the Federal Assembly building a few days ago, I noticed on the bulletin board there, among other clippings from newspapers, a commentary from [the cultural weekly] TVORBA expressing astonishment at the fact that Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek must be "manipulated by some obscure, clearly evident forces." The timing of his trips abroad all too conspicuously and all too frequently coincides with scheduled joint meetings of Federal Assembly chambers. Indeed. Let us compare: True, at the sixth meeting in September he was present. But at that time he welcomed on the Federal Assembly premises first F. Mitterrand and then M. Thatcher, and it would have really been unseemly if someone else welcomed such distinguished guests while the head of parliament was traveling somewhere in the world. The seventh meeting, on 23 to 25 October, was a purely working one, however. And Mr. Dubcek? From 22 to 25 October he was visiting Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. The visit's timing was really perfect. It may be retorted that he left one day before the meeting started. True, but originally the meeting was to start a day earlier.... During the eighth meeting Mr. Dubcek was in Prague again: The parliament was in session for only two days, and it welcomed G. Bush.... The ninth meeting started this week on Monday. And, you guessed correctly: That very day the Federal Assembly chairman departed for a visit to Great Britain. The deputies would not have even noticed his absence any longer, were it not for one interpellation addressed to him, asking him what he meant when he said in Japan that Czechoslovakia was not returning to capitalism but was seeking a third path.

Another highly placed figure in our state, Marian Calfa, could tell stories about how negotiations can go awry in the absence of certain persons. At the beginning of November he interrupted his visit to East Slovakia and rushed back to Prague in the evening to save the negotiations of his cabinet on the division of powers. There is only one person who may have made even more official or working trips abroad: Vaclav Klaus. Yet so far Vaclav Klaus has never missed anything important.

Minister on Intelligence Service Head's Dismissal

AU0512182890 Prague CTK in English 2129 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 3 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Interior Minister Jan Langos said today that inactivity was the main reason for the November 27 dismissal of director of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy Jiri Mueller.

After answering questions in parliament behind closed doors, regarding Mr. Mueller's dismissal, Langos told CTK that it has become clear that until the last moment Mueller "had no detailed concept though he had been given an instruction at the beginning of October to prepare technically the personnel and conceptual changes" in his office.

As to the future control of the office, Langos said he was convinced that within one or two months the office would no longer be controlled by the Interior Ministry. The control and powers of the director of this federal service for the protection of the Constitution or the federal information service the name has not yet been fixed would be determined by law.

Press Views Slovak Attack on Czech Minister

AU0512134090

[Editorial Report] Czech and Slovak newspapers on 1 December publish commentaries on the latest row between the Federal and Slovak Governments, triggered by Federal Minister of Economy Vladimir Dlouhy's remarks made on television on 28 November, in which he questioned the responsibility of Slovak Government representatives. While all three Czech papers (PRACE, MLADA FRONTA DNES, LIDOVE NOVINY) commenting on the issue support Dlouhy's stand, the Slovak Government daily NARODNA OBRODA calls for the minister's resignation.

Prague PRACE in Czech on 1 December on page 2 carries a 600-word Vladimir Kucera commentary entitled "Did He Lose the Shield and Pick Up the Sword?" Kucera says that until last weekend's local elections Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar could argue that he is "under the pressure of chauvinist passions" and must "dupe" Slovak nationalists with his "at times somewhat expansive conduct" to save the federation. After the crushing defeat of the Slovak National Party and other "radical nationalists and separatists" in the Slovak local elections, however, there is no longer any point in using this "shield."

Kucera continues: "One would expect Mr. Meciar to grin and say: 'Well, finally we need not worry about them [Slovak nationalists] and now we will start acting quite normally.'

"Mr. Meciar did not say this, however. At the moment when he found out that he had lost his shield he picked up the sword. His demands no longer look like play acting designed to hoodwink dangerous chauvinists. They are being raised without any pressure on himself. Quite to the contrary, Mr. Meciar is bringing pressure to bear on us and he is doing so quite recklessly. Until now he has been haggling, now he has launched an attack. And because he is without a shield, he is bandying his sword about. He wants to cut across the gas pipeline, gain maximum profit from gasoline, and, in the end, cut through all the fragile threads which Czechs and Slovaks managed to stretch across the Morava river.

"No wonder that Mr. Dlouhy took off the mask of the imperturbable fellow and said what he had to say."

Kucera believes that Meciar's conduct has nothing to do with "maneuvering under nationalist pressure" but that it is motivated by the "struggle for power" in Slovakia: "If Mr. Meciar did not pick up the sword, someone else, probably someone from Mr. Carnogursky's group, would make himself heard. Although they claim that they want justice for Slovaks, they are playing for [political] posts." Kucera concludes the commentary by saying: "I believe that even though—or, perhaps, precisely because—it is threatened by Meciar's sword, the Czech political representation should finally start to fight. Not for Czechs and against Slovaks but for all those who care about this still common republic. It has become apparent that the policy of constant concessions leads nowhere."

Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 1 December on page 1 carries a 700-word Libor Sevcik commentary entitled "View." Commenting on the Slovak reaction to Dlouhy's remarks, Sevcik says that it "resembles the reaction of cantankerous women who resent the fact that someone dared say something unflattering about them." Sevcik welcomes the fact that Dlouhy dared express his view in public, which, as he observes, is still uncommon for a public official in Czechoslovakia.

He goes on to say that Slovak Prime Minister Meciar ought to be reminded that "there is a limit to everything." He reiterates his doubts about Meciar's "credibility," expressed in an earlier MLADA FRONTA DNES commentary, and accuses Meciar of resorting to the use of "the cheapest tricks" in an effort to boost his popularity in Slovakia. Sevcik believes that the Slovak reaction to Minister Dlouhy's remarks was not the last reaction of this kind but that "we can expect a new outcry to follow every time that someone dares express a different opinion from that held on that very day by Mr. Meciar or one of his associates." According to Sevcik, such public outcries serve Meciar and his associates as a "suitable smokescreen for hiding their own helplessness and insecurity and for directing a dissatisfied crowd against an artificially created enemy." In concluding, Sevcik expresses relief at the fact that "fortunately, we do not live in an information vacuum where it is possible, by clamor, to silence people with their own views."

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 1 December carries a 1,000-word Jiri Hanak commentary entitled "Here Was Rhodos." The commentary reviews what it describes as "six months of efforts of the Czech and Slovak prime ministers to draw the round square, or angular circle, of a new authentic federation." Commenting on the latest "massive attacks" from the Slovak side on Dlouhy, Hanak remarks that "the only offense committed by the unfortunate Minister Dlouhy was that he had the guts to call things by their proper names—blackmail a blackmail and buffoonery a buffoonery."

Referring to the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement's condemnation of Dlouhy's remarks, Hanak regrets that policies formerly associated with Vitazoslav Moric's Slovak National Party "have gained in popularity even within the ranks of the VPN."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak carries a 600-word Igor Cibula commentary entitled "Resignation as an Optimal Solution; The Federal Government Needs Ministers Who Are Not Burdened With Prejudices." Cibula suggests that the VPN leadership should not content itself with the statement it issued on Dlouhy's remarks but "should submit to its coalition partner, the Civic Forum, a proposal on Dlouhy's replacement with a minister who would not challenge the legitimacy to Slovak constitutional officials. The civic public in Slovakia has no reason to trust a federal executive body in which there are people with an attitude such as that expressed by the federal minister of economy."

Cibula continues: "The situation brought about by Minister Dlouhy's conduct will be a test for Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa, who is regarded by Slovaks as a protege of the Prague Castle. It is certain that the sympathies for him at the Castle are greater than those for Prime Minister Meciar, for example. This should not, however, prevent Prime Minister Calfa from replacing the compromised minister of economy with a politically irreproachable and competent national economist who would not be giving Slovaks 'good advice' as to whom to choose as their head of government. Should the federal prime minister underestimate this case, he could complicate his own situation in the future when the undue regard for the Czechoslovakist minister in his cabinet might backfire."

In concluding, Cibula reiterates his demand for Dlouhy's replacement, saying that the economic reform "requires people not burdened with prejudices" and that "in established parliamentary democracies similar situations are solved by resignation."

Government Approves Early Retirement for Miners

AU0512132890 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 1 Dec 90 pp 1,15

[CTK report: "Government on the Budget"]

[Text] The most important item on the agenda of yesterday's session of the Federal Government was the draft state budget of the federation for 1991 and a survey of the total sum of the CSFR public budgets. The main principles of budgetary policy include the elimination of subsidies for the budgets of the republics; the possibility to react to the risks of development by the creation of contingency budget reserves; an increase in expenditures on the social functions of the budget (compensation for increases of heat and electricity prices, court rehabilitation, other possible social measures) as well as a drop in defense expenditures (by 9.4 percent compared with 1990); and the creation of a surplus budget (with the federation's budget showing a surplus of 6.2 billion korunas, the budget of the Czech Republic a surplus of 1.1 billion korunas, and the budget of the Slovak Republic a surplus of 0.7 billion korunas), which establishes prerequisites for negotiations on the extension of an IMF loan.

Furthermore, the government approved the draft of a CSFR Government decree that had been submitted by the minister of labor and social affairs on the extraordinary provision of old-age pension benefits to some miners. The decree makes it possible for some miners who spent long years performing the most demanding and high health-risk work in miners' professions to retire at the age of 50.

In view of the approval by the Federal Assembly of the constitutional laws on the return of the property of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Youth Union to the people of the CSFR, the Federal Government assigned to the minister of finance the task to submit to the government by 15 December 1990, in cooperation with the minister of control and in agreement with the appropriate Czech Republic and Slovak Republic bodies, a proposal on how to carry out the provisions of these constitutional laws in such a way that their implementation can start on 1 January 1991.

The Federal Government also approved an increase in the wholesale prices of fuels, electricity, and heat with effect from 1 December 1990 and charged the ministers of finance and economy with safeguarding the implementation of this measure.

In conclusion, the Federal Government dealt briefly with the atmosphere created by the reaction of some Slovak politicians to the comments by Minister of Economy V. Dlouhy. It arrived at the conclusion that members of the government undoubtedly are political figures and have therefore not only the right, but also the duty, to put forward not only professional but also purely political arguments in support of their convictions. The Federal Government shares and supports the views of Minister V. Dlouhy on retaining the system of oil and gas pipeline networks.

Miners Upset Over Government's Delaying Tactics

AU0512145090 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 3 Dec 90 p 8

[CTK report: "A Statement by the Miners"]

[Text] Stanislav Hosek, chairman of the Federal Trade Union of Mining, Geology, and Oil Industry Employees, issued a statement yesterday in connection with the CSFR Government measure of 30 November, granting old age pensions to some miners. Among other things, the statement contains the following: "The government set 15 July as the first deadline for dealing with this issue. The long delays and bargaining have been abused by state officials to limit the number of miners as much as

possible and, on the other hand, to place the miners in the contentious role of blackmailers in the eyes of the public. Moreover, the CSFR Government has not respected the recommendations made by the national governments. According to these recommendations, the proposed measures could apply to more miners."

Trade Union Committee Suspends Strike Alert

AU0512183590 Prague CTK in English 1949 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 3 (CTK)—The strike committee of the General Council of the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions (CSKOS) decided today to suspend a strike alert until the Czechoslovak parliament finishes its debate of amendments to the Labor Code, a Bill on Collective Bargaining and the Bill on Employment, starting Tuesday.

The strike alert was declared after some parliamentary circles have been questioning the right of trade unions to effectively protect workers against dismissals, and the right of employees to participate in discussing questions of development, management and control of the enterprise's activities.

The strike committee of the CSKOS General Council suspended the strike alert after weekend talks with groups of parliament members. The talks, particularly with Civic Forum deputies, were characterized by understanding and support for the demands that the trade union rights be included in the three bills.

'Peculiar' Cooperation Agreement With KGB Viewed

AU0512133790 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 1 Dec 90 p 2

[Vladimir Mlynar commentary: "A Splendid Agreement; Will the Ministry of Interior's Agreement With the KGB Be Canceled?"]

[Text] On 1 March 1990 Richard Sacher, LLD., the then CSFR minister of interior, signed an agreement on cooperation between the Federal Ministry of Interior and the USSR Committee for State Security [KGB]. The public was told by him at that time that this is a completely new type of agreement, which routinely, in the same way as is customary in other countries, delineates cooperation between two ministries. Citizens sighed with relief, but....

An announcement was made in the parliament's defense and security affairs committees yesterday that next Friday and Saturday [7 and 8 December] the committees would discuss this agreement. The reason: A number of alarming reports about its content. The six-page text really delineates cooperation with the KGB in a very peculiar way and the parliament is likely to demand that the agreement be canceled.

As is stated in the preamble, the agreement proceeds from "the obligations of the CSSR and the USSR arising from the Warsaw Treaty and the agreements of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance." The Article II of the agreement, concerning the settlement of mutual requests for assistance, stipulates that "as long as the principles of legal regulations of the requested state concerning settlement [of requests] do not prevent it, the differing regulations of the requesting state may be used at its request." Article III provides for "exchange of information concerning the security of both contract states," for mutual deliveries of special technology, and for assistance in the training of specialists. According to Article IV of the signed agreement, the exchange of experience comprises "mutual exchanges of specialized literature free of charge, as well as of other publications concerning matters that are subject to this agreement."

Article VI is of particular interest: "Based on specific demands, the Soviet KGB will provide assistance in the training of Czechoslovak security personnel in specialized training courses." Furthermore, the contract parties committed themselves to draft "annual plans of mutual official contacts." The mutual "representations" of the two ministries [at the respective embassies] are charged with the solution of practical matters. According to Article X, "the agreement goes into force on the day of its signing and remains valid for a period of five years"! Unless one of the contract parties cancels the agreement six months before the five-year period expires at the latest, it will be automatically extended by an indefinite period. The agreement ceases to be valid sixth months after the day when the notice was delivered to the other contract party.

[Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 1 December on page 3 carries 900-word "excerpts" from the agreement, which Richard Sacher and Vladimir Kryuchkov, the KGB chairman, signed in Moscow on 1 March 1990]

Spokesman Says No KGB, Ministry Cooperation

AU0512183390 Prague CTK in English 1458 GMT 3 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 3 (CTK)—The agreement on cooperation between the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior and the Soviet KGB was "a dead letter right from the start" said Czechoslovak Presidential Press Secretary Michael Zantovsky at a briefing today.

The contract was signed last March 1 and according to Zantovsky it superseded all previous agreements, which had codified the subordination of Czechoslovak Security organs to those of the Soviet Union. "There has been no contact between Czechoslovak Security Forces and the KGB since the agreement was concluded and no cooperation exists now," said Zantovsky.

Regarding the anticipated relaxation of foreign travel restrictions for Soviet citizens and its implications for Czechoslovakia, Zantovsky said the problem is being

discussed at the consular level for the time being. He also said that obstacles to lifting restrictions on travel between Poland and Czechoslovakia will be removed not on January 1, 1991, but only after that date.

Zantovsky also said that the four-month negotiations on power-sharing between the Federal Government and the republics should be concluded as soon as possible, otherwise it could result in a catastrophic situation for both Czechoslovakia's international standing and its economic reform.

The agreement for power-sharing was threatened last week by disagreements about the future of the gas and oil pipelines, which currently cover the territories of both republics as a single network. The Federal Government is proposing the creation of a single joint-stock company, while the Slovak Government favors two separate companies, one for each republic.

Director Outlines Security Office's Problems

LD0512190790 Prague CTK in English 1745 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 5 (CTK)—Newly appointed Director of the Czechoslovak Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy Jiri Novotny said here today that there are several hundred workers in the office who proved to be incompetent.

He told a news conference that there are still many former secret police (StB) members who will have to quit the office as well.

Novotny, appointed to the post at the end of November, replaced Jiri Mueller who said today he did not know the reason for his November 27 dismissal although Interior Minister Jan Langos, who was his chief, "has published so far three versions of my dismissal". For the time being this case is under discussion by the Federal Parliament Defence and Security Committee.

The new director said that his office, likely to be called "Federal Information Service," will be controlled by a federal parliament body after a law is approved. It will be no longer under the control of the Interior Ministry.

Novotny said exposing foreign spies will not be as important as protecting "our secret facilities" against foreign intelligence services agents. A reform of the office, prepared under the previous director, has not been realized. Novotny said that the office has a problem with defining optimum staff numbers, it has no internal structure and neither has the issue of the flow of information been resolved.

Technical equipment of the office is "gloomy". There are practically no computers, its bugging equipment "is fit rather for a museum" and the standard of telecommunications means is allegedly worse than that at railways, Novotny said.

He confirmed that some of the former StB members are being hired by foreign intelligence services to operate against Czechoslovakia. Their number is said to be "high enough to deal with it."

Under discussion at the press conference was the case of Jiri Sprusil, the former director of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy in Ostrava, North Moravia (subordinated to the Federal Interior Ministry) and police administration director in this region. Sprusil, first recalled from the post and re-installed at the start of December, said in an interview for today's left wing daily "RUDE PRAVO", that his October dismissal was initiated by two deputy interior ministers Arnost Kohout and Petruska Sustrova. As Sprusil was subordinated to the Czech interior minister, Kohout and Sustrova made the then minister Tomas Hradilek to dismiss Sprusil. After Hradilek allegedly found out the truth, "he resigned his ministerial post as an honest man". Hradilek said he had resigned because he did not feel competent and mature enough for the post.

Defense Minister Explains Army Morale Problems

LD0512234590 Prague Television Service in Czech 2105 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Interview with CSFR Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Minister, problems in relations between soldiers have been increasing over the last months. Are you able to stop this tendency toward bullying, which is growing?

[Dobrovsky] I think we are compelled to put some kind of a brake on this trend. Of course, we shall not manage, just like any other army has not managed yet, to abolish bullying altogether. Bullying is a very complex problem, which has numerous causes. It is not only typical for the army. The army creates an environment, in which bullying is practiced with more ease than in some other environments. We carried out a whole number of measures, ranging from measures targeted at preventing it right up to making punishments more severe by means of criminal proceedings and disciplinary punishment and so on.

[Reporter] Criminality is also growing. For the first six months of 1990 alone there were 2,000 cases in the army.

[Dobrovsky] Criminality is on the increase. This results from a special situation after the coup [November 1989]. It is not only criminality in the army which is increasing, it is also increasing in society as such, as is continually reported. In the army this is given by certain specific circumstances, of which we are aware. We find ourselves in the process of profound transformation and redeployment of the army. We are abolishing approximately 140 detachments and units. Social guarantees for the officers,

who live and work in the garrisons where units are to be abolished, are being reduced, of course. They focus their attention on their internal social problems, and discipline is deteriorating. We have also some other problems linked to the decline of discipline. One of them is the law on civilian service, which has not been amended yet and which hampers officers' chance to award harsher punishments in soldiers' training.

Another problem, which lowers discipline is the shortage of officers and career soldiers, and thus a commanding post of a whole number of lower ranking military units is not occupied by officers. Our way of solving this situation is to pool these units, so that they would be staffed by career soldiers. This will be perhaps one of the ways.

[Reporter] The numbers of desertions are growing at an unusual rate.

Just in five months of 1990 there were 483 desertion cases. What are you going to do about it?

[Dobrovsky] We are examining a whole set of causes which lead to it, of course. It appears that one important reason for soldiers' resolve to desert is their false idea that in the current relaxed life of our society they will not in fact be so severely punished for desertion as in the past. This is shown also in the attitude of the public towards the army. The army continues to be suspected of being good for nothing and of depriving the state budget of funds for nothing. And the conscripts regard it as an obstacle in their lives and it appears to them that they have the right to leave the army and go after their own business. This is suprising, because they have, after all a chance provided by the law, to decide on the basis of the law on civilian service to no longer undergo armed training. But I would say that this, indeed, testifies to the profound dissipation of all values, with which conscripts enter the service.

[Reporter] Can you see any way out of this unpleasant situation?

[Dobrovsky] Of course I can. If I did not, I could not hold my post for one hour! The way out lies in the speediest and best possible implementation of the process of redeployment and profound transformation of the army and in finalizing the revision of personnel work, revision of attestations, and creation of better guarantees for career soldiers in terms that we shall say: Yes, these particular people wil remain in the army and will hold particular posts, while others will have to leave and take up other posts, and some will have to leave the army altogether, because they do not provide a guarantee of being sufficiently qualified officers of the Czechoslovak Army.

Rychetsky Delivers Havel's Letter to Bush

AU0612131790 Prague CTK in English 2103 GMT 4 Dec 90

[Text] Washington Dec 4 (CTK correspondent)—A letter by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to George Bush was handed here today by Czechoslovak Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky to Robert Hutchins, National Security Council European Department director, owing to the fact that the U.S. President is currently on a South American tour.

Asked about the content of Havel's letter, Rychetsky said that the Czechoslovak president expressed gratitude to Bush for his visit to Prague on November 17 and appreciated its course as well as all the talks he held with him. He informed Bush about the readiness of a Czechoslovak anti-chemical unit to leave for the Persian Gulf as its transport will be ensured by the U.S. side.

Measures for Possible USSR Refugee Influx

LD0512183390 Prague CTK in English 1713 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 5 (CTK)—A Czechoslovak Interior Ministry spokesman said here today that the Czechoslovak-Soviet border will not be opened in the foreseeable future.

Referring to an expected influx of refugees from the USSR into Czechoslovakia and possible other countries, spokesman Martin Fendrych told newsmen that this problem might arise in the middle of next year. The original date, November 1, and the later date, November 15, for opening the border was not kept as a result of the autumn talks by Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa in Moscow, he said.

He said that the problems of refugees from the east is an affair of the whole of Europe and the world. Czechoslovakia has already set up a crisis staff to cope with the matter, counting with special measures which Fendrych specified by saying that in case of need Czechoslovak Army engineers' units would be deployed on the borders.

Fendrych rejected the opinion that 99 per cent of the refugees would flee for economic reasons.

Representatives of the secretariat of the Government Commissioner for Refugees stated at the press conference that the initial dislike of Czechoslovak citizens for refugees which have been in Czechoslovakia since summer has declined but said there still are fears of them as carriers of diseases.

Fendrych said costs per one refugee per day amount to 150 crowns (one dollar equals one crown).

At present there are about 995 refugees in Czechoslovakia, 20 to 25 per cent of them children, representing 15 nations (the largest group being Romanians). There are three refugee camps and several stations offering humanitarian assistance (mostly in North Bohemia near the

border with Germany). All camps are in the Czech Republic (two in North Bohemia, one in South Moravia). No camps have been set up yet in the Slovak Republic, neighbouring on the Soviet Union, in spite of talks between members of the secretariat and the respective Slovak bodies.

Foreign Ministry Expert on Sudeten German Claim

AU0612125390

[Editorial Report] Prague PRACE in Czech on 30 November on page 5 carries a 1,700-word interview with Richard Kral, LLD., "international law expert of the CSFR Ministry of Foreign Affairs," by a "dob"-signed PRACE correspondent entitled "History Cannot Be Reversed." In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Kral expresses Czechoslovakia's position on the demands of Sudeten German organizations for the return of Sudeten German property confiscated in Czechoslovakia after World War II.

Asked about his view "as a lawyer" on the deportation of Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia and the confiscation of their property, Kral says that both the deportation and the confiscation were carried out "on the basis of the Czechoslovak legal order and in harmony with the norms of international law"—the Potsdam Agreement of August 1945 and the Paris Agreement on German War Reparation Payments of December 1945. This is why "from the legal point of view we have no obligations toward the Germans who were deported from Czechoslovakia after the war." He says that this fact is recognized even by the German Government, which has never officially laid a claim to compensation for the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans.

Asked whether the Sudeten Germans at least have "a moral right" to claim compensation from Czechoslovakia, Kral says that, generally, everyone who has not made himself guilty in any way and was deprived of honestly acquired property should be entitled to a certain compensation. "The question is, however, vis-a-vis whom the Sudeten Germans ought to apply this claim," Kral says, adding that the deportation was a direct consequence of World War II, which was started by Germany. Hence, it is Germany which should "at least partially set right what had happened." Kral points out that the West German Government acknowledged this responsibility for the deported Sudeten Germans when it "provided them with certain compensation in the form of financial help in overcoming the difficulties in settling down in a new environment in the early fifties." Kral also emphasizes that, when speaking about the moral right to claim compensation, one should not forget the claims of Czechoslovak citizens expelled from their homes in the Sudetenland after the Munich agreement of 1938 and the claims of Czechoslovak victims of Nazi persecution. These two groups of Czechoslovak citizens have not received any compensation from Germany so far.

The interviewer then confronts Kral with the "disagreement" voiced in many readers' letters with the fact that Czechoslovakia conducts negotiations with the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft. Kral denies this, saying that the Landsmannschaft is only an interest organization and, as such, cannot serve as a partner for official bodies. The only partner for negotiations of this sort is the German Government. Czechoslovak bodies maintain "contacts" with Sudeten German representatives which are of a routine nature and cannot be referred to as negotiations.

As regards talks with the German Government on the mutual settlement of property claims, Kral says that the CSFR Government sent a diplomatic note to the German Government on 27 June 1990 proposing talks on the "entire complex of unsolved property issues." Because the German Government was preoccupied with the country's unification, the talks have not taken place so far. Kral hopes that, with Germany united, "representatives of both sides will be able to sit down and close this chapter of Czechoslovak-German relations once and for all." Kral stresses that "we have nothing to fear from these talks. The confiscated property of forcibly transferred Germans can be estimated at 300 billion prewar Czechoslovak korunas, while our property claims amount to 360 billion of the same currency." As the foreign ministry expert specifies, the Czechoslovak claims concern "compensation for damage which arose in connection with the occupation and World War II," including reparation payments to Czechoslovak victims of Nazi persecution.

In his subsequent reply, Kral dismisses as "unwarranted and unnecessary" the fear of Czechoslovak citizens in the border areas that the former Sudeten German property would be returned to the original owners. As he points out, the property restitution law passed by the Federal Assembly clearly specifies that it concerns only property nationalized after 25 February 1948.

In the concluding question, the interviewer asks Kral to explain the official Czechoslovak position on compensation for the deported Germans. Kral replies that it is based on three premises: "First, the return of the deported Germans, the restitution of their property, and compensation for it are all out of the question. Second, achieving that a level-headed approach and assessment gains the upper hand. This means, specifically, that on our side we stop viewing the deportation as an act of retaliation and acknowledge that it was in its essence an inhuman measure because it affected people who were for the most part innocent. On the German side this should lead to the abandonment of the absurd yet commonly accepted claim that 240,000 to 260,000 Germans were murdered during the deportation. And, third, we must work toward reconciliation."

Meciar Interviewed on Slovak Government Politics

AU0512143190 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 29 Nov 90 p 2

[Interview with Slovak Republic Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Andrej Javorsky; place and date not given: "My Politics is Only an Extension of the Politics of the Slovak Government"]

[Text] [Javorsky] Our public is slowly getting used to the fact that your statements are not idyllic appearances. When necessary, you are an ardent defender of Slovak interests. Recently, however, speculations appeared claiming that what you said on television on Tuesday night [27 November] regarding the republic budgets, which is also connected with the collection of taxes from the sale of Slovak gasoline in the Czech Republic, might be aimed at reviving the conflict between two prime ministers, i.e., between you and Mr. Pithart. Better informed people know that the sum total of the money basically escaping Slovakia runs into billions.

[Meciar] I would not take it just as a defense of Slovakia. It is a matter of a relation as well as an attitude to dealing with the problems of both republics and the federation. Speaking for the Slovak side, we made clear the Slovak concept of the future federation, and we discussed this concept. At present, we are at a point at which, if these concrete relations are to be dealt with, they must be covered financially. You must remember the times when it was rumored in Bohemia that one has to support Slovakia, and analogical hearsay circulated in Slovakia. The only way to achieve harmony in these things is to have well prepared open mutual accounts. We are preparing the budgets already with respect to the future division of competence as well as to the future structure. Of course, differences of opinion may and must appear in the process. There is, however, nothing new as far as I am concerned. It is all just an extension of Slovak Government politics, and that does not change. Everybody seems to be surprised, and expects that it will be different. It will not. It follows its course steadily and purposefully.

The approach to the preparation of the budgets is not a Meciar-Pithart controversy. I see it more or less as a development of the relationship between the Czech Republic and the federation. We have no demands of the Czech Republic, we only defend those sources of revenue that exist in Slovakia. We want to see them flow into the Slovak Republic budget, that they are also allocated here, and that a part of them is turned over to the federation.

[Javorsky] The day before yesterday, at the meeting of all three prime ministers, two things leaked to the public and attracted particular attention: Klaus' so-called blackboard filled with his handwriting and a laconic comment of the Czech Republic Prime Minister Pithart that the talks took place with cards down. Your comment is missing....

[Meciar] Ministers of finance participated in the Prague meeting. Using the blackboard to demonstrate and make a better presentation is nothing unusual. The minister of finance presented some calculations, offered his own variant, and we commented. Thus, although it was written in his hand, the blackboard was a joint effort in the sense of comments about what it contained. A consensus was reached in the sense that we agreed that the former proceeding of the federation and of both republics was wrong in that there were some items which had no place there. The Slovak Republic Government declared that it is not true that they are preparing an inflation budget, as their budget was the only one of the three that was lower than the expenses in the past budgetary periods. An agreement was reached that today (Wednesday) the three finance ministers—without Mr. Klaus, who is represented by a deputy—will continue talks and in the evening they will give an answer regarding the definitive form of the future budget of the federation and of the republics. They were supposed to go over some of the variants or over all of the variants we outlined on Tuesday evening and let us know the result.

[Javorsky] So, you were satisfied with the course of the meeting on the highest government level?

[Meciar] But I was satisfied from the very beginning. All the time, somebody is expecting that things will be different. And they are not. The Slovak Government policy is given by the precise concept it follows. Let anybody come and tell me that I made a single statement that contradicts what we said at the very beginning, or even an indication that I was willing to accept another decision than those made at the beginning. Nobody could give any such example, so I cannot understand why they wonder that the stand of the Slovak Government is unequivocal in all matters. We mentioned this, among other things, at the meeting.

New Left Wing 'Taking Shape' in Slovakia

AU0512132190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Nov 90 p 2

["zr"-signed report: "A New Left-Wing Party in the Offing"]

[Text] A new left-wing organization—the Socialists of Slovakia Association [Sdruzeni Socialistu Slovenska]—is taking shape in Slovakia. The statement of its preparatory committee, whose signatories include well-known names such as writers V. Minac and I. Hudec and political scientists E. Sebo and I. Urbancik, states that the new organization's aim is "to create new possibilities for the political realization of people of labor who hold dear the values of the international socialist movement: freedom, democracy, and social justice."

The statement draws attention to the fact that the endeavor of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia members base to maintain unity at all costs has postponed the party's genuine transformation ad infinitum. In a situation when politics in our country is drifting

increasingly to the right, the formation of a strong left wing is a prerequisite for getting out of the crisis, according to the statement.

Slovak Economic Council Discusses Oil Issues

AU0512131090 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 29 Nov 90 pp 1,2

["(NO)"-signed report: "Strategic Economic Steps"]

[Text] Bratislava—The strategy for Slovakia's economic development until 1992 was the most important point on the agenda at yesterday's joint session of the Slovak Government Economic Council and the Slovak Government Council for Economic Management. According to Slovak Deputy Prime Ministers Jozef Kucerak and Vladimir Ondrus, the strategy proceeds from the approved scenario for economic reform and reacts to the current situation in the Slovak economy.

This strategy involves the most complex analysis to date of the course of changes in the economic system, a course which envisages several alternatives for the possible development of the Slovak economy depending on the volume of inputs (especially oil and electricity) and the exchange rate level between the koruna and the U.S. dollar. In connection with the irreplaceable role of banking, the councils discussed the dissatisfactory situation throughout the financial sector. This dissatisfaction is connected, first and foremost, with the shortage of credit sources, with the small number of banks, and with the lingering centralist concept for organizing banking. It is alarming that, to date, not one foreign bank has a representative office in Slovakia.

Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kucerak also provided more detailed information about the disputes with Benzina [an oil distributing company]. An agreement was reached at the federal level in 1968. According to this agreement, Slovnaft does not debit Benzina with the turnover tax on its products. When Benzina sold its products, it extracted this tax which, at the same time, was considered as income for the Slovak budget. One of the reasons for this course of action was to ensure that Benzina did not have large credit burdens. A few days ago, the finance minister revoked the federal agreement. "We cannot agree with this. We proceed from the premise that by 1992 or 1993 value added tax will be introduced and that until then no changes should be made. A great number of elements could be found, which—on the contrary—would suit us. We do not agree with the abolition of the 1968 agreement," said the Slovak deputy prime minister.

He also aired his views on the "division" of the oil and gas pipelines. "It is impossible to perceive this division of property as just a physical division as a federal broadcast on Czechoslovak Television so simply put it yesterday. I was shocked by the simplified way in which such an important issue was explained. In an economic sense, this issue involves the distribution of property rights and the economic chain of events which result from the use of this property. Two joint stock companies—a Czech one and a Slovak one—could exist and be associated in a holding company. No one is physically tearing up any oil or gas pipelines and no one is opening or closing any valves," stressed Jozef Kucerak.

National Bank Chairman on Talks With IMF

AU0412105790 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with National Bank Chairman Gyorgy Suranyi by Kocsi; place and date not given: "The Shortage Does Not Depend on the IMF"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] An IMF delegation is currently holding negotiations in Budapest. It is taking a closer look at the budget that is presently being drafted, and it is following the government debate in the press. To what extent does this war of statements influence Hungary's chances in its negotiations with the IMF? We asked Dr. Gyorgy Suranyi for more information.

[Kocsi] What stage have our negotiations with the IMF reached? Could an eventual agreement perhaps be influenced by the government debates taking place in public?

[Suranyi] In business matters, it is not common practice to talk about the standpoint of the negotiating parties before the negotiations are actually over. The Hungarian issuing bank has stuck to this fundamental principle for the last 10 or 20 years. We would like to continue with this tradition. The negotiations would be paralyzed if one of the parties divulged its standpoint without appropriate deliberation, and without any knowledge of the final results. If, after that, somebody retracted something from their original standpoint, it would look as though they were giving up their principles.

[Kocsi] Nevertheless, you could tell us whether the IMF has raised its requirements.

[Suranyi] This question implies that the IMF is dictating requirements to us, and that Hungary is trying to meet these requirements. We have to meet our own requirements; we have to set our own limits, which we do not want to—or cannot—surpass. For example, if the IMF had "allowed" a balance of payments deficit to the tune of $1.5 billion instead of $550 million for this year, we quite simply could not have raised enough external credits to finance this deficit. It is interesting to note that, although our balance of payments deficit is far smaller than we had anticipated, our hard currency stocks have not grown above their predetermined level. This indicates that if our balance of payments had shown a deficit to the tune of what the IMF had "allowed," then the country would no longer be solvent. Many people mislead the public by pointing to the outside; this also misleads us. Such a solution is dangerous. International financial institutions are not prepared to finance a country which is constantly talking about rescheduling, or about the serious losses that it is making. It should not be concealed that society is in a very grave situation; however, let us acknowledge, at long last, that foreign capital will not come to Hungary to witness strikes, or to experience serious social conflicts, and investors will not bring their funds into an insolvent country, so their money can be frozen. Foreign capital would rather come here to see that we are successful, that business initiatives are spreading, and that a market economy is developing.

[Kocsi] That is true, yet even government members are talking more about our worries than about our successes. Furthermore, we have recently even been able to read about the government's internal conceptual conflicts. What economic policy trend would the Hungarian National Bank like to see in 1991?

[Suranyi] Those debates should have taken place within the government; therefore, I do not think that the Hungarian issuing bank should join in any of these debates. Furthermore, the Hungarian National Bank is not part of the government, so it would also be pointless for us to join in any of the debates taking place in government circles.

Minister on Future of Trade With Soviets

AU0512132090 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Nov 90 p 8

[Interview with Industry and Trade Minister Peter Akos Bod by Miklos Z. Hajduska; place and date not given: "Practically Everything Will Change"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] There is still scope for wide-ranging Hungarian-Soviet relations, and hopefully, the indicative list published last week should only account for one-quarter of our future trade volume. Minister of Industry and Trade Peter Akos Bod returned from Moscow on Wednesday, 28 November; he informed our correspondent about the latest developments in our trade with the Soviet Union.

[Hajduska] Mr. Bod, was the possibility mentioned of Hungary following the example of other countries, and sending food aid parcels to the Soviet Union?

[Bod] No, that was not mentioned. The negotiations were strictly business negotiations, in the positive meaning of the term. There were no political slogans. The basic standpoint was that we are neighbors, that we constitute natural markets for one another, and that it is now our duty to start working as soon as possible. There was no talk of aid; both parties offered honest business proposals. The Soviet side told us that they had no oil, but they do have production possibilities. If we are able to contribute to this production through equipment, expert knowledge, technology, Ikarus buses, mobile homes, or even foodstuffs, then they are prepared to "convert" this assistance into raw materials.

[Hajduska] Most of these items do not appear in the indicative list published last week, and foodstuffs do not appear at all.

[Bod] Hopefully, the indicative list only accounts for one-quarter of our future trade volume with the Soviet Union. The delivery of the aforementioned goods, as well as numerous other products, will have to be decided

upon at the level of the republics, the regions, or the enterprises themselves. [passage omitted]

[Hajduska] Recently, there has been much talk about the restructuring of our economic relations, and from now on, we will have to negotiate on four levels. Hungarian experts worry, however, about the amount of freedom that will be granted to our Soviet partners, to the republics or enterprises.

[Bod] That is a justified query, and at the beginning of our negotiations, I asked the same question. Since then, I see things somewhat more calmly. For example, according to the Union Treaty, export revenues will be distributed in such a way that the central government will absorb some 50 percent of the revenue, the republics will receive 20 percent, and the regions will receive 10 percent. In other words, 20 percent of the revenues will be kept by the enterprises, and in the case of a firm that extracts 40 million tonnes of oil or 25 million tonnes of coal, that represents quite a serious commodity supply for negotiations; furthermore, it supports the independence of enterprises in a satisfactory manner. For us, this is a positive trend from every point of view, because it is easier for us to negotiate with our direct partners than with the state bureaucracy. At the same time, several issues which are important for Hungary will remain under the central government's sphere of authority. These issues include energy—although there are debates about this with the republics—the railways, and the media, areas in which Hungary could be very much interested in offering deliveries.

[Hajduska] Practically everything is changing in our relations, from our accounts to our partners. Various new agreements are replacing previous agreements—for example, what will happen to the obligation to transport used fuel back from Paks [Hungarian nuclear power station] to the Soviet Union?

[Bod] It was very significant that both the federal government and the republic concerned clearly stated that regardless of the division of spheres of authority, interstate agreements will be respected.

1991 Trade Agreement Signed With CSFR

LD0512165390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] In Budapest the 1991 intergovernmental trade agreement has been signed between Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and accounting will take place in dollars. The agreement stipulates that the debts remaining from this year's trade will have to be paid in rubles until the end of April 1991; subsequently, until the end of July, it can be paid in the national currency. The Hungarian negative balance of payments is 60 million rubles.

It was also discussed at the negotiations that the Czechoslovak National Bank will buy forints from Hungary to the value of 20 million rubles until the end of the year, which will decrease the Hungarian trade deficit.

SFRY's Markovic To Arrive for Talks 7 Dec

LD0512142790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] At the invitation of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council president, Ante Markovic, will visit Budapest on 7 December. He will be accompanied by the minister for trade and the first deputy foreign minister. The Yugoslav head of government will have discussions with Jozsef Antall, and will also be received by President Arpad Goncz, and National Assembly speaker Gyorgy Szabad.

Statistics on Corporations, Unemployment Published

AU0512132590 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Nov 90 p 8

[Unattributed report: "The Central Statistical Office Reports the Increase in the Number of Corporations"]

[Text] Every second economic unit employs fewer than 20 persons, and every 10th economic unit employs more than 300 people. All this proves that the corporations dominate. In addition to these figures, the latest publication of the Central Statistical Office also provides some unemployment figures.

This year has been critical for people working in large-scale enterprises. Close to 12 percent of these people were dismissed by August this year and have been living in total uncertainty. The small economic units employing 51-300 people could only take up a few of the released manpower. At the same time, the various corporations continue to proliferate. There were 15,560 corporations at the end of September, some three times as many as the figures for the end of 1989. Trade corporations increased most, and this can also be seen from the two and a half times increase in the number of workers employed in private trade since January 1 1990. It is interesting to point out that, compared with 1989, there has been a decrease of more than 10 percent in the number of people employed in economic units with a personnel of more than 50 people in the trade sector.

The National Manpower Center also provides alarming data: There were two and a half times more unemployed in the middle of September than in January this year. According to the September data, the number of unemployed stood at 53,000. Three-quarters of these unemployed people are manual workers, and an even more alarming fact is that a considerable number of these people are unskilled workers. Some 36,000 people receive unemployment benefits.

Statistics largely differ according to various areas. Crisis areas are abundant, areas in which the number of jobseekers exceeds the number of jobs several times. The most critical situation is in Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen county where there are 1,407 jobs for 9,297 unemployed people; 4,362 people received unemployment benefits for an average of 149 days. Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg,

Nograd, and Heves counties are facing similar difficulties. The situation is even worse in Heves County because the average duration of unemployment benefits is 99 days. The figures almost show an idyllic picture in Budapest: Some 1,524 people received unemployment benefits for an average of 142 days, and the number of job seekers stood at 638, with 2,828 jobs available.

Statistics on Standard of Living Published

AU0612104290 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 1 Dec 90 pp 1,5

[Unattributed report: "There Is Nothing Left to Give Up—Opinion Poll Carried Out by the Trade Unions' Institute of Economic and Public Research"]

[Text] Half of Hungary's population no longer has any cultural expenses; more than 10 percent of the population do not buy newspapers, and 15 percent do not have a single cent left for so-called consumer goods. All this has been established on the basis of an opinion poll among 6,000 households, organized by the aforementioned trade union institute.

The research institute in question decided to carry out a separate analysis of the changes in the financial situation of Hungarian families following the price increases in January 1990. Various statistics on the populations' living conditions are less and less reliable because, as a result of the travels and foreign purchases of the Hungarian population, these statistics do not reflect the real state of domestic consumption. Erzsebet Gidai, the director of the trade unions' research institute, reported about the first conclusions of the aforementioned opinion poll at a news conference held on 30 November. The analysis generally corroborated the assumptions of the economists so far, according to which the increasing prices have led to a signification deterioration in the financial situation of most of the Hungarian families. The standard of living slightly deteriorated in the case of 34 percent of the families; it did not change in the case of 12 percent of the families; it slightly improved in the case of 2.2 percent of the families; and it improved in the case of 0.6 percent of the Hungarian families. The 30-40 age group, the skilled workers, pensioners, people with secondary education, and families with six or more members complained of a serious deterioration in their living standard. According to most answers, the increase in the price of food was the immediate cause of the deterioration, because there was hardly any money left for something else. The families have to primarily renounce the purchase of clothing and cultural services, as well as vacations. The number of people for whom the purchase of everyday food is a problem is also increasing, and more than half of the Hungarian families consume considerably less meat, cheese, and cold cuts than before. Many people said that they had reached the limits of food consumption.

How do they defend themselves against the price increases? Efforts to achieve self-sufficiency are prevailing: Anyone who can do it tries to produce vegetables, fruit, and meat. Repair and installation works are carried out domestically, and many people even manufacture their own clothes. The other way of saving money is to purchase goods from the so-called CEMA markets, where the prices are lower than in the organized retail trade.

Last year, 40 percent of the families lived practically from one day to the next; this year, more than 60 percent of the Hungarian families have been living this way. Their expendable income is decreasing rapidly, and they have no possibility of saving money. People have already begun using up their reserves.

From the changes in the structure of consumption, researchers calculated that food and services used up 45 percent of the income of a family with two employees and two dependent children with both adults taking an average salary home, including the child benefits; this year, the aforementioned percentage is already 55 percent. If the 50 percent inflation forecast for next year actually takes place, the same family will be forced to spend 85 percent of their income for food and services. Because an increase of 50 percent in the family allowances can hardly be expected, and the increase in average wages will also lag behind the increase in the consumer price index, it is not difficult to conclude that a total impossibility to function will be the fate of Hungarian families with average wages. There are a lot of people, however, who fall under the average rubric, and what about them? It is a vain hope to join Europe when more than half the people in Hungary live in misery.

First Round Election Results Broken Down

AU0512125990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1-2 Dec 90 p 2

[Tomasz Rogulski report: "All the Candidates' Men"]

[Text] In the first round of the elections, the majority of every single social group voted for Lech Walesa with the exception of the intelligentsia, most of whom voted for Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and young people without a higher education, most of whom voted for Stanislaw Tyminski.

The "Solidarity" chairman gained a clear victory among people in private business (43.6 percent of whom voted for him) and pensioners (49.5 percent). Some 40.6 percent of workers voted for him, but the number of workers who voted for Tyminski was only seven percent less. Walesa also had the support of 39.2 percent of farmers, almost six percent more than Roman Bartoszcze, the Peasant Party candidate.

The higher the level of people's education, the lower the level of support for Walesa. Some 47.6 percent of people with elementary education voted for him, and 29.4 percent of people with higher education did so. However, support for Walesa increased in line with age. As many people aged 18-25 voted for Walesa as they did for Tyminski, 31.2 percent each.

Most of the rural population and the population of small and medium-sized towns voted for Walesa, but the greatest percentage of Walesa voters, 41.4 percent, live in cities of more than 100,000 people, where men outnumber women.

Stanislaw Tyminski had the support of young people between 18 and 25 years of age, with the exception of those with higher education. Support for him decreased in line with age. Most of his voters were workers (33.5 percent), white collar workers without a higher education (24.9 percent), and schoolchildren and students (24.4 percent). He was also supported by 22.1 percent of people in private business, people with vocational training and secondary education.

The independent candidate won more votes in rural areas and small towns, but fewer votes in large cities.

Poll Shows Walesa Ahead in Presidential Race

LD0512233690 Warsaw PAP in English 2127 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 5—A random sample of 2,886 people today took part in a poll conducted on the order of the Centre Alliance in 60 towns of 31 voivodships inhabited by about 75 per cent of Poland's population.

The first question was: About whom do you know more? Replies: about Tyminski—8 per cent, about Walesa—75 per cent and I have no opinion—17 per cent.

The pollsters asked next: For whom will you vote in the run-off of presidential elections? Replies: (The results of identical polls conducted on December 3 and November 30 are given in brackets): Tyminski—15 per cent (18 and 20 per cent), Walesa—56 per cent (54 and 51 per cent), I do not know yet—14 per cent (14 and 14 per cent), I will not take part in the run-off—15 per cent (14 and 15 per cent).

Walesa Participates in 'Difficult Questions'

LD0512104290

[Editorial Report] Warsaw Television Service in Polish at 2010 GMT on 4 December carries a 40-minute live or recorded "Difficult Questions" program featuring a news conference by Solidarity leader and presidential candidate Lech Walesa.

Representatives of Stanislaw Tyminski's election team, although invited, did not participate. The questions included: Walesa's standing among the miners in Silesia; Walesa's criticisms of the government before and during the election campaign; what plans he has for agriculture; his concept of the role of the president; his advocacy of the free market with corrections; his faith in the privatization process; plans for the housing economy; how he would cope with international leaders when president; why he did not run for office in summer 1983; threats from the so-called "Third Force" in Poland (i.e., Tyminski and others) and whether he was moving away from the working people who originally brought him to prominence. One question concerns his apparent wealth:

An unidentified journalist asks: "Mr. Chairman, a difficult question: Let's move away for a moment from your program—from a reader of my GAZETA GDANSKA newspaper, who rang and said the following: Mr. Walesa became rich on Solidarity. A moment ago, sir, you said that you came from a poor background. Mr. Walesa is now rich and well off. This is our money, Solidarity's money, money from our struggle. Could you tell us, sir, what you own?"

Walesa replies: Please, dear madam. You are right. It is true; if I were a coward in that village, no one would buy my book, and I would earn nothing. It is true, except that I had a choice. When there was a sort of interregnum—when I could not do very much—that is when I did some extra work. I could have sat back and written nothing. I found some assistants and we wrote two books. I received money for these books. I have a great deal of money due to the organization. And now, a problem exists. Of course, it is true that if I were not the Walesa created by Solidarity, I would not have written this book.

"So, madam, you are right, but you are also wrong. I did not take one penny belonging to the union. From the moment Solidarity was reborn, I never—not once—received a wage and do not receive one. Moreover, I contribute all these resources I have earned on the side. So, could I have not written this book? Does this book not also serve you, madam, and Solidarity? One could ponder this. The fact remains that, quite simply, you are right, madam. I would not be a writer; I would not be

involved in this moonlighting if I were not who I am. That is true, but that is where the work ends. The rest I did on the side. I earned money through my overtime, and with this money—not even with half this money, since I earned a lot through this book—with this money, I am setting up my children and myself, and I live. I think that, as the president, I will not be doing so. Since I still have some money left, I intend to publish another book. I will write it in my free time. I think that I will even have enough money that I will not have to take any money as president."

Another journalist then asks: "Mr. Chairman, you say that we must fit into Europe. At the same time, you have emphasized during your election campaign that you are 100 percent a Pole. You have called on people of Jewish origin to reveal themselves. Why, in your opinion, sir, does someone's biological origin, in one way or another, have political significance?"

Walesa replies: "Once again, I understand this subject from a practical point of view. This was a standard fall-back question. Some did this to set me up, others to catch me out, and still others to show the anti-Semitism of Poles or of me personally. In answer to these 1,000 questions in various places—well, I was probably asked about this subject a thousand times—I made several blunders in perhaps two replies. I had been defending myself to someone, I could no longer go on, I was tired, yet he kept having a go at me; I replied: Sir, what do I care? I am a 100-percent Pole. That was a blunder, right?

"It is not like that, since if I am 100 percent, that implies that someone else is not 100 percent. I replied badly. That was a blunder, but not out of malice or anti-Semitism. I have said and continue to say, whether anyone likes it or not: So long as I decide in this country, there will be no nationalism, no chauvinism, and also no anti-Semitism because that does not exist here. Sometimes it is a game here, it is the exploitation of naivety, even the exploitation of various flaws, but that is not where it is at. I explained this the last time and again how bad it looks when we speak within these concepts about anti-Semitism.

After all, in my faith—which I really believe in and practice every Sunday in church—I am told that the Jewish people—Israel—are the chosen people of my God. So, how can I be an anti-Semite when my God, my faith, tell me to respect Israel and her people. However, it is certain that there are also dishonest people within this nation, just as there are within any other nation, or there are politicians, and these are the politicians I argue with. But this has nothing to do with anti-Semitism. I do not like politicians who are after my post, but that is not anti-Semitism."

The journalist presses: "But Mr. Chairman, I am not accusing you of anti-Semitism. I'm trying to understand what the political point is of demanding that people of Jewish origin reveal their origins?"

Walesa says: "No, I said that I understand that you are asking me about this because you do not know how the system works. You suspect that because we are not conducting elections today, or because we are not doing one thing or another, that means that someone is blocking it. That is why we have to create a system, so that such suspicions should not exist. I will do everything so that a system should exist in Poland, so that such questions should not be asked, so that everyone who is interested should know how it is, that it is not at all based on the truth, so that the one who is asking should look ridiculous since he does not understand all these mechanisms. This stems from the mechanisms and not..."

The journalist interrupts: "Are they to reveal themselves or not?"

Walesa replies: "No. Overall, gentlemen, whosoever lives here, whoever has citizenship, is a Pole, and no one should ever demand such things."

Farmers Solidarity Endorses Walesa Candidacy

LD0512163490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] The presidium of the Solidarity of Private Farmers' National Council appeals to all farmers and rural inhabitants to take part in a decisive second round of the presidential elections, and to support the candidate who has led the Solidarity movement for 10 years. By voting for Lech Walesa, we protect the good name of Poland in the world, choosing our own, albeit difficult road to a better future.

Center Accord Appeals to Voters for Walesa Vote

AU0512171490 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 3 Dec 90 pp 1, 2

[Statement issued by the Political Council of the Center Accord; place and date not given]

[Text] Lech Walesa scored a clear success in the first round of the presidential elections. The Center Accord proposed his candidacy in view of the dangers posed by the remnants of communist rule and the serious mistakes that had been made in government policy. We appreciate the fact that society's assessment of the situation was a similar one. The will and intentions of the electorate must be respected; this applies equally to what it approves of and to what it rejects.

The division in the second round of the presidential elections is abundantly clear. Lech Walesa is the candidate of "Solidarity," independent and democratic political parties, and the candidate of all those forces that are liberating Poland from communism. He is the candidate who will lead us to a strong, democratic, and wealthy Poland.

He is opposed by crypto-communist forces, the old nomenklatura owners of the Polish People's Republic, who have given their support to Stanislaw Tyminski, a

candidate who is not known to Polish society, a demagogue who exploits people's understandable and justified feelings of desperation and frustration in his election campaign. Stanislaw Tyminski's acceptance of martial law and General Jaruzelski's role during that period and his announcement that he intends to maintain state ownership, which has been so discredited, leaves no doubt about what his ultimate goals are. It is an attempt to restore the old order and reintroduce real socialism via the back door, which, in no time at all, would lead to chaos, complete economic catastrophe, and Poland's decline in the international arena.

The Center Accord reaffirms its program, which is linked to a Lech Walesa presidency. We support the development of a free market economy, a strong role for local government, the creation of appropriate economic foundations for agriculture, an active employment policy, respect for the role of trade unions, and an effective social security system.

The program calls for a serious reorganization of the composition of the government and for changes to government policy.

If you want an independent, democratic, and efficient Poland, join us in voting for Lech Walesa.

GAZETA Urges Support for Walesa

AU0512151490 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 3 Dec 90 p 1

[Untitled commentary by Juliusz Rawicz]

[Text] The threat that Tyminski poses to Poland is irresponsibility that borders on insanity, an inability to establish rational contact with reality, complete ignorance coupled with the ideas of a charlatan, and finally—in the former security apparatus running his campaign—the seeds of a future apparatus of power. Every day new, disturbing information indicating this is coming to light.

Tyminski's supporters are going into the elections to defend what they are hoping for. Among Walesa's supporters, there are many people who might think that he will have enough of a majority without their support. There will also be people who reject Tyminski, but do not want to vote for Walesa for the same reasons that led them not to vote for him in the first round. We do not know how that 40 percent of the electorate that did not vote in the first round will behave.

All these things provide Tyminski with a chance in the elections. It also means that if one wants to stop him and his group of former security service officers from assuming the government of Poland, then it is not enough not to vote: One has to vote for Walesa!

If Tyminski loses the election, this does not mean that he will be eliminated. Having the support of such a large section of the electorate, he will remain a destructive political and social force that will be pulling the country toward some form of restored communism. His apparatus will see to that. That is why it is important that his initial position should be made as unfavorable as possible.

This does not mean that we have changed our opinion about the risks connected with a Walesa presidency. However, in the face of the present danger, these reservations have to become a secondary issue. There will be time for cooperation and argument after the elections.

What we now have to do in these elections is to defend last year's victory over communism—the result of a struggle lasting many years—and defend the beginning of changes leading toward democracy and a marked economy, a beginning for which many sacrifices were made.

That was the position adopted by Prime Minister Mazowiecki as well as by Jerzy Turowicz, and by the main political forces that comprised the Mazowiecki voters—his election campaign committees, the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action, and the Forum of the Democratic Right.

It is a task for all the forces whose roots are in the anti-communist opposition, regardless of what differences exist among them. So, this not only applies to Walesa and Mazowiecki voters. It is also a task for those who voted for Bartoszcze and Moczulski as well as for those parties and groupings that evolved out of the opposition and did not have their own candidates, such as Morawiecki's Fighting "Solidarity," Jurczyk's and Jaworski's "Solidarity" 80, Sila-Nowicki's Labor Party, Lipski's Polish Socialist Party, and other political groups.

It might be very difficult for those who did not vote for Walesa on 25 November to vote for him now. However, today, that is what Poland requires us to do.

Various Groups, Parties Declare Support for Walesa

LD0512233890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] We—Polish-American businessmen, members of the Polish-American Economic Club, and our families—believe that there is only one candidate, Lech Walesa, in the second round of elections, we read in a statement sent from Detroit. Support for Lech Walesa's candidacy has also been renewed by the Polish Catholic Social Union, the National Democrat Christian Civic Movement, the Conservative Party, the Polish Green Party, the Union of Real Politics, and the Supreme Medical Board. The chairman of the Solidarity 80 Marian Jurczyk, denied reports that he supported the candidacy of Stanislaw Tyminski.

Tyminski Interviewed on Economy, Elections

AU0512124190 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 3 Dec 90 pp 174-175

[Interview with presidential candidate Stanislav Tyminski by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Walesa Is a Danger for the Country"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Tyminski, first we probably have to congratulate you on your unexpected success....

[Tyminski] There is no reason for congratulations. I am not satisfied with the result.

[DER SPIEGEL] Did you expect even better results?

[Tyminski] Yes, I did. I was surprised how few votes I got in the larger towns. I expected more votes there.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you mind Walesa saying that he does not like the idea of competing with you in the second round?

[Tyminski] I was surprised to hear that he stated at a news conference in Gdansk that I am a danger for the whole country. I say the same thing about him.

[DER SPIEGEL] How do you assess your chances in the run-off elections against Walesa?

[Tyminski] My chances are excellent; otherwise, I would not run.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why do you think Mazowiecki suffered such a stinging defeat?

[Tyminski] People have realized that he has not done anything for our country. As a matter of fact, he led it into an inconceivably serious crisis within one year. Poland's economic situation is disastrous. It would have been better for him to have done nothing, because then the situation would be better than it is now.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you have a recipe for the Polish economy?

[Tyminski] I see that thousands of my compatriots are leaving Poland. They go to Canada, or to Germany where they can reach an acceptable living standard within a relatively short period of time, including an apartment and a car, despite the fact that they have to adapt to a foreign culture. This is not possible in our country, because we have a tax system which does not allow such things. There is a great deal of talk about changes, but, basically, the system has remained unchanged during the past 40 years.

[DER SPIEGEL] What exactly would you change?

[Tyminski] I would not immediately introduce a tax system as it exists in Canada, because in my view taxes are much too high there. I would, however, like a moderate system with certain social benefits, for old people, for example. People would then earn decent money.

I would also promote cooperation with Poles living abroad. In this way, numerous new jobs could be created in small enterprises, as they exist in the United States.

[DER SPIEGEL] How would you shape cooperation with the Soviet Union?

[Tyminski] The Soviet Union is a huge market. Poland has not yet been able to create a suitable climate for favorable cooperation. Nowadays, the Soviet Union needs mainly foodstuffs. People there cannot live solely on U.S. corn and Canadian cereals; they also need vegetables. We have plenty of vegetables in Poland.

We harvest enormous quantities and store it over the winter. If the stored vegetables are not sold, vegetables like cabbage and carrots, for example, will rot away in the spring. We could sell all this to the Soviet Union, no matter whether it pays in dollars or with mineral oil, or natural gas. There are numerous possibilities.

[DER SPIEGEL] You lived in Peru for a long time. Do you see a possibility to apply the experiences you made there in Poland?

[Tyminski] Of course. The experiences I had in Peru are important because the situation there was similar to that in Poland. Efforts were also made there to curb inflation without plans for the further economic development. I learned there that it is possible to live with a relatively high inflation if there are opportunities for development. These opportunities, however, do not exist in Poland. I also saw a great deal of poverty in Peru, just like in Poland. This is the first problem we must tackle.

[DER SPIEGEL] Can you imagine introducing martial law as president of Poland?

[Tyminski] No, not in any case. This is no solution. We need a situation today that allows the rescue of Poland, not martial law. The military cannot improve the economy.

[DER SPIEGEL] In your book "The Sacred Dogs," you claim that Poland needs nuclear missiles. Why?

[Tyminski] I wrote about the international situation in the book, about international armament. I also wrote that such missiles are modern weapons in today's world. I do not think, however, that Poland should spend money on such weapons in the current situation.

[DER SPIEGEL] Let me ask you a personal question: You claim to be a millionaire, a millionaire of dollars. How many millions do you have?

[Tyminski] I have declared my personal assets in Canada, as every presidential candidate has to do there. My assets are worth $5 million, before the deduction of taxes. I announced the same figures here, but the Polish media omitted a zero.

[DER SPIEGEL] Another personal question: The Polish media reported terrible things about you; that you are mentally ill, for example.

[Tyminski] These are Stalinist methods, all lies.

[DER SPIEGEL] What about statements that...

[Tyminski] All lies.

[DER SPIEGEL] What will you do when you lose in the second round? Will you again turn your back on Poland?

[Tyminski] I do not consider this possibility, otherwise I would not run.

[DER SPIEGEL] Theoretically, however, one must take such a possibility into consideration.

[Tyminski] I am in Poland now and have received fantastic support for my candidacy. In such a situation, I cannot leave a country that is in such a deep crisis in the lurch. Nobody forced me to run for president, as Walesa says about himself. I am running on my own initiative.

[DER SPIEGEL] So you will remain here.

[Tyminski] I am very happy in Poland.

Daily Examines Tyminski's Libertarian Party

AU0512125590 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1-2 Dec 90 p 2

["Z.L" report: "The Libertarians in Canada"]

[Text] During his latest news conference, Stanislaw Tyminski, speaking about his political qualifications, said that he was the leader of the Libertarian Party of Canada, which struggles for the liberty of working people.

According to foreign press material, this party was founded in 1973 and was modeled on a similar party in the United States. This party now has about 3,500 members.

The program of Tyminski's party calls for a reduction of government powers to a minimum, a reduction in taxes, and the abolition of spending on social security. Everyone should fend for himself as best he can—that is the best way to summarize the views of this party's members, who have been calling for an end to government programs concerning health insurance, pensions, and unemployment benefits.

The party is in favor of great freedom for private initiative and foreign trade.

Electoral Commission Rejects Tyminski Suggestion

LD0512174290 Warsaw PAP in English 1613 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 5—The State Electoral Commission met here today for the last time before the second round of elections due Dec. 9. The commission decided upon the programme of its work between Dec. 8 and 11. The official results of voting will be announced on Dec. 10.

The commission assumed its stand on numerous letters it has received recently. In one of them Stanislaw Tyminski suggested that it would be possible to forge the results of voting by the use of false voting cards and suggested that voters should cross out the name of the candidate for whom they do not vote.

The State Electoral Commission, however, rejected the possibility of any major forgeries. The commission said that Tyminski's suggestions could be understood as an attempt to undermine the confidence in electoral commissions.

As to the way of marking the choice on the ballot cards, the commission stated that voters are supposed to put "x" next to the name of the candidate they are voting for, as provided by the electoral law which could be changed by the Sejm only.

While responding to the letters whose authors demanded that Tyminksi be barred from running for president in the second round of elections, the commission said that it had no and has no rights to assess candidates for president.

Mazowiecki Supporters Form Democratic Union

AU0512141190 Warsaw PAP in English 1816 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, 2 December (PAP)—Representatives of the Alliance for Democracy, the Citizens Movement for Democratic Action [ROAD] and the Forum of Democratic Right are taking part in a meeting of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's electoral committees that started here.

The meeting is to define what steps should be taken in Poland's new political situation by people who supported Tadeusz Mazowiecki in the first round of the elections.

"I think that one should cast ballots for Lech Walesa," said Tadeusz Mazowiecki at the meeting of his electoral committees. "This does not mean that I support his vision of democracy and his style of action. However, there are situations when one should choose despite the existing differences, for fear of still greater danger," he explained.

Referring to his telephone talks with Lech Walesa, Mazowiecki stressed: "I do not shirk cooperation in questions of supreme importance for Poland, but I can

assume responsibility neither for what Walesa has ruined nor for what he has promised."

During today's meeting of his electoral committees, Tadeusz Mazowiecki called for turning them into committees of Union of Polish Democracy. In his opinion, this would lay down the foundations for building such a political formation that will win supporters in parliamentary elections and will remain a key element of the Polish political scene.

Representatives of ROAD, the Forum of Democratic Right and Tadeusz Mazowiecki's electoral committees set up the Democratic Union, with Tadeusz Mazowiecki elected its head by acclamation.

"I am not a party man but rather a man who is trying to unite different people and that is exactly how I see my role in the union," said Mazowiecki at the end of the meeting.

A meeting of the 100-person union's council will be held on December 15.

Mazowiecki Addresses New Alliance

AU0512141390 Warsaw PAP in English 2111 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, 2 December (PAP): Tadeusz Mazowiecki was elected here today leader of the Democratic Union, a political alliance of the forces that had supported him in the presidential elections.

The party was set up at a meeting of Mazowiecki's electoral committees from the whole of Poland, representatives of the Citizens Movement for Democratic Action, the Forum of Democratic Right, and the Alliance for Democracy.

Participants in today's meeting also appointed a 100-strong council of the union which is to meet on December 15.

Proposing to transform his electoral committees into committees of the Democratic Union, Tadeusz Mazowiecki underlined that the most important task today is to provide a groundwork for a political formation which will gain supporters in future parliamentary elections and will be a key element on the Polish political scene as the force advocating peace and stability.

I think, Mazowiecki said, that one should vote for Lech Walesa in the run-off. It does not mean I support his vision of democracy or his mode of action. But there are situations when you have to make a choice despite differences, in order to prevent a greater danger.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki stated that after November 25 the road to a democratic Poland, a Poland as a state with the economy based on sound principles, a Poland as a strong state open for cooperation with her neighbours has become much longer.

I believe however, the prime minister said, that we will reach such a Poland. On November 25 the nation did not have the final say on the government's achievements.

I would not like to evade criticism, Mazowiecki said. The government's score includes both achievements and mistakes or shortcomings. But today, after the destruction carried out during the presidential campaign it is impossible to discuss this peacefully.

Those who have won should assume responsibility. Walesa's camp should have courage not only to make inconsiderate promises but also to take responsibility for them. This is what I said to Mr Walesa when he telephoned me. I told him I will not avoid cooperation for the welfare of Poland but I cannot take responsibility for what Walesa has promised nor for what he has ruined, Prime Minister Mazowiecki stated.

Episcopate Issues Statement on Elections

AU0512131890 Warsaw PAP in English 2107 GMT 30 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, 30 November (PAP)—The Polish Episcopate held a plenary conference at the Jasna Gora Monastery, Czestochowa, between 29 and 30 November.

The Polish bishops—participants in the conference—issued a pastoral message which said in part: "During the conference we worked on a pastoral care programme for the final decade of the 20th century. We discussed the state of preparations for the pilgrimage to the homeland of the Holy Father next June and for a prayer meeting with world youth at Jasna Gora next August.

"At this historic moment for Poland we realize that it is a great effort that the nation united by the idea of solidarity has been making in order to throw off the burden of the totalitarian system. The election of the head of the state is in a way—at this stage of Poland's history—the crowning of our toil and sacrifice. The state is our common good. Therefore its helm should be given to a person who, basing on Christian values, will guarantee the continuation and consolidation of the accomplishments of our homeland. Our massive participation in the election of the president of the state is also our moral duty."

Solidarity Activist Disatisfied With Situation

PM0512122690 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 24-25 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with Senator Professor Karol Modzelewski, member of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN), Solidarity co-founder and activist, by Krystyna Filcek; place and date not given]

[Text] [Filcek] How do you, a long-standing Solidarity activist, assess Poland today? What feelings dominate your opinion, those of satisfaction or, perhaps, dissatisfaction?

[Modzelewski] I feel more dissatisfaction. I do not want to over-use such slogans as "This is not what we fought for," but.... Our new reality is only just now taking shape, and it looks different from how we imagined it. It is up to us to decide how far we should revise our earlier views, which were perhaps lacking in realism, and how far we should try to continue to realize those early ideals, despite—or perhaps even against—all that has been done and is still being done under our old flag.

[Filcek] So, to your reservations. What are they?

[Modzelewski] Certain legislative solutions currently being implemented make it evident that we have abandoned the model of the welfare state and have also given up the principle of state intervention in the economy. Here I perceive an obvious reappraisal of ideas by the Solidarity camp's political elite, which has the power to decide about such solutions. I would say that the current trends favor liberalism, not liberalism interpreted as tolerance toward a variety of different opinions, but liberalism in the sense of economic freedom. In this sense it probably relies more on theory drawn from books than on real observation of the situation in the Western world. The Polish Government favors the view that in our circumstances the market—liberated from certain administrative restrictions—is a miraculous, self-regulating mechanism. It is a kind of invisible hand which can and will change and correct everything quickly, without destroying anything that does not deserve to be destroyed. I am deeply convinced of the fallacious nature of this belief and I very much regret the evident change of viewpoint on the part of many Solidarity activists. It is not only their positions that have changed, but also what I would call their "philosophy of action": their attitude to the ideals that the original Solidarity propounded back in 1980. Their priorities have been reversed, as has their order of preference. In 1980-1981 Solidarity's objective was primarily to protect the weak according to principles of social justice. Today all social and economic problems are considered from the viewpoint of the enterprise, the employer, or the state budget—which ultimately comes to the same thing. We are forever hearing that the state cannot afford to subsidize cheap food or medicines. I, on the other hand, believe that the situation is exactly the opposite: It is we, the citizens, who cannot afford the high housing rents, expensive medicines, and costly food, since as much as one-third of the value of our real incomes has disappeared during just one year. I believe that before any decisions are made—especially concerning social welfare questions—we must first think very carefully about our choice of values and priorities. From this viewpoint, it is pertinent to ask whether the road which Poland chose to follow was well chosen....

[Filcek] Surely, however, we are all in favor of a market economy.

[Modzelewski] Yes, but if it is to become a reality, proper market instruments must operate adequately. For the moment, however, we are still not at the market economy stage. We are in a transition period which—and this must be stated frankly and openly—will last for a long time yet. Furthermore, during that time a measure of state intervention is certainly necessary in case we suffer even greater losses.

[Filcek] The majority of the public hold the view that we are by now beset by utter chaos which pervades all areas of public life, including the political scene. We do not even know exactly what kind of state system we have at the moment, do we?

[Modzelewski] No system at all. We are at a stage when a new and still very fragile democracy is being formed. No sooner did it emerge than it began to totter, threatened by a great many dangers.

[Filcek] It also seems to be threatened by the all-enveloping public apathy. On the whole, people refuse to believe that anything can change for the better or that they can take an active part in bringing about such a change.

[Modzelewski] There is a certain force of habit there, too; after all, for many years we could not participate in any decisionmaking whatsoever. All we could do was curse our condition, but now we are free, and I suggest that we accept this new freedom with the whole attending baggage of problems. Because it is only now that we have found ourselves at a crossroads. As to the general despondency of our society, I believe that this indicates some early results of our experiment in democracy over the past year. Looking back, when the parliamentary election was held, it was in the nature of an an anticommunist plebiscite, but no one at that time opted for Balcerowicz's economic program because no one knew anything about it. Then, before the local self-government election, no one warned about the dangers which we can now see perfectly clearly. Self-government organizations represent a bankrupt structure with no money at all, and this situation forces them to adopt virtually ruthless practices.

[Filcek] This is surely the fault of the legislator—that is, the Sejm....

[Modzelewski] ...and the Senate. What can the ordinary man in the street say: Someone who was a Solidarity member; who then lost all hopes during martial law; and who, still later, voted the Solidarity politicians in and rejoiced over the creation of "his" government—but who has now suffered such calamities and defeats in his daily life under the very same government as he did not experience even under the communists? Such a man is deeply convinced that all this hullaballoo about democracy, parliaments, presidents, and his own hypothetical involvement in the voting decisions have absolutely no relevance to his everyday troubles and problems.

[Filcek] Perhaps this is why Poles seem to want to be ruled with an iron rod.... They are just waiting for someone to come and sort everything out so that life will become easier, as it should be.

[Modzelewski] Anyone who thinks along these lines assumes that the dictatorship will be directed not against him, but against his neighbor. Unfortunately, dictatorship always turns against those who desired its advent! As a rule, authoritarian dictators do not provide more bread for the hungry—and sometimes they even use hard truncheons to beat into submission those who demand more bread, just to keep them docile. Previously we were also ruled with a rod of iron, but at least we could then say that it was the Red Army that was responsible for forcing it on us. Today we no longer have the same handy excuse....

[Filcek] Thank you for talking to us.

Walesa Meets With Defense Secretary Cheney

LD0512164890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Excerpt] Presidential candidate Lech Walesa met U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney in Gdansk today. Here is Antoni Popov:

[Popov] Greeting the guests, presidential candidate and Solidarity chairman Lech Walesa said, among other things: I wanted to greet you cordially in the Solidarity headquarters, ladies and gentlemen. As you know, we are reforming Poland, and the whole Eastern system follows Poland. We have many problems, and there are also dangers. We want to speak about all this, so that these reforms may serve Europe and the world. We want the least possible danger to be created by these reforms. That is also why we await various pointers to the introduction of peace and order, and for this reform, at the same time to be as cheap as possible. I wanted to talk about all of this with you, ladies and gentlemen, said Lech Walesa. [passage omitted]

Skubiszewski Receives Lithuania's Landsbergis

LD0512194190 Warsaw PAP in English 1752 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 5—On his way to Canada, President of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic Vytautas Landsbergis paid a short unofficial visit to Poland today. He met with Deputy Sejm Speaker Olga Krzyzanowska and Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

Minister Skubiszewski told PAP: "We have discussed the whole of relations with Lithuania which is on her road to independence, but this independence has not been fully materialized yet."

"Poland supports Lithuania's aspirations but much must be done alongh the Moscow-Vilnius line, as we are not able to do for Lithuania all that depends on Lithuanian-Soviet relations. [sentence as received] We are ready for various contacts but necessary is the fulfillment of these requirements which do not depend on us. During the talk I have also touched on the issue of the rights of Polish minority in Lithuania," Skubiszewski added.

"We made certain things clear. Poland supports aspirations of the Baltic republics to have their representations at international conferences. As concerns their participation in the CSCE, we gave our support to the Baltic republics, including Lithuania as our neighbour," he went on.

The head of the European Department at Poland's Foreign Ministry, Grzegorz Kostrzewa-Zorbas presented prospects of Polish-Lithuanian contacts. "In the near future we are planning talks concerning the whole of Polish-Lithuanian relations," he told PAP.

"The talks will be first uheld at the level of experts and then at the level of foreign ministers and maybe of the prime ministers. The Polish side will be striving to solve all the problems. Economic, transport and multi-lateral policy issues will be discussed. We shall also discuss how to arrive at the full participation of Lithuania and other Baltic republics in the CSCE, as well as the issues concerning a large Polish community in Lithuania," he said.

Foreign Ministry Protests Hungarian Reports

AU0512123090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1055 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/12/1990—An ever more conspicuous tendency may be noticed lately with the Hungarian party to lend tension to the relations between the two countries. Telling in this respect is the distortion of the facts and of the stands expressed by the Romanian party in the diplomatic talks.

It is the case of official stands taken by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Hungary, and especially the statement of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry spokesman of November 29, 1990, released by the MTI news agency, which calls for further details:

1. As early as right after the May 20, 1990 elections, the Romanian party advanced the proposal for a high-level meeting, a proposal subsequently reiterated by Mr. Ion Iliescu, Romania's president, during the interview in Tokyo with Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic of Hungary. Recently, on the call paid by Imre Szokai, under-secretary of state with the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, when the Hungarian party proposed the organization of the two heads of state's meeting in Timisoara, on December 17, 1990, the Romanian party showed it did not think the date and the place to be fit. President Ion Iliescu suggested instead that the interview should be held on December 9, when the Warsaw Treaty participant states' Consultative Political Committee was to hold [its] session, stating his readiness to stay in Budapest half a day after the conclusion of the session, to that end.

That proposal is still valid, even though the Budapest session has meanwhile been postponed, and so is the invitation extended to Hungary's president to pay a visit to Bucharest at a mutually convenient date.

The Romanian party is waiting for the Hungarian party's positive response.

The fact is that, while insisting to be received by President Ion Iliescu in order to hand over a message from the president of the Republic of Hungary, Hungarian Undersecretary of State Imre Szokai actually had no such message to deliver. It is up to the Hungarian party to assess such a manner of acting.

2. Pursuant to the Romanian party's insisting on the necessity of a dialogue, consultations at a secretary of state level took place in Budapest (July 24-26) and Bucharest (November 15-17). The Romanian party advanced during those consultations a substantive package of proposals upon which solutions were agreed upon for 38 questions, recorded in a protocol. When the document was drafted and ready to be signed, the Hungarian collocutor posed the problem of the so-called Romanian refugees in Hungary, conditioning the signing upon the recording of that problem in a wording that was offending to the Romanian party. So, the Romanian party showed it could not consider as refugees the Romanian citizens who left Romania with all due documents, who were possessed of valid travel papers. He recalled that all Romanian citizens who were past the age of 14 had their own passports valid for five years, and they might travel wherever they wanted and might remain abroad as long as they wished inside that interval of time that might be extended with another five years. However, admitting there were problems with the Romanian citizens who were in Hungary, just as there were problems with Hungarian citizens who visited Romania, the Romanian party proposed that the protocol should record a more general reference to the organization of bilateral talks on the line of the competent bodies, either in Budapest or in Bucharest, to cover all problems and lead to an agreement on their settlement, both in connection with the Romanian citizens in Hungary and with the Hungarian citizens in Romania. The Hungarian representative refused the recording of such a proposal in the protocol and, insisting that his initial proposal be worded, left Bucharest without signing the text that had been actually agreed upon.

In consideration of the reaction of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry representative, the question publicly asked by the Romanian Foreign Minister on November 18, 1990, "what intentions did the Hungarian representative come to Bucharest with?" is still unanswered.

Not minding the Hungarian delegate's behavior at the negotiations, the Romanian party takes the necessary steps for the carrying into effect of the 38 concrete actions covenanted.

3. A great role in the Romanian-Hungarian dialogue is incumbent upon the two countries' embassies and ambassadors that have to be ensured by either party every condition for adequate unfolding of their activities.

Starting from an interview granted by Romania's ambassador in Budapest with daily "TINERETUL LIBER", the Hungarian Foreign Ministry spokesman says that Ambassador Simion Pop "has obviously and grossly violated all written and unwritten rules of diplomacy, giving the president and the prime minister of the Republic of Hungary advises", and comes up with other similar accusations as well.

The Romanian ambassador only stated his view, answering the justified preoccupation of public opinion in Romania with the grave obstructing, through public declarations by Hungarian officials, of the natural course of the Romanian-Hungarian relations. The stand expressed on November 29, 1990 by the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, according to which emotional condition might justify the statements of the Hungarian officials that ignore the international law, is unacceptable.

The Romanian Foreign Ministry knows of the respective interview and considers that nothing of what the Romanian ambassador stated justifies the Hungarian Foreign Ministry's accusations that are given the lie both by the assiduous activity deployed by the ambassador in the

eight months since he took office in Budapest toward easing the tension and improving the Romanian-Hungarian relations, and by the stands expressed by him directly in talks with Hungarian officials and through mass media.

The Romanian Foreign Ministry is bound to note that the Hungarian party has lately had the tendency to bring artificially new elements of tension in the bilateral relations, in spite of the understanding between the two Foreign Ministers to have the problems generating arguments settled by diplomatic means whenever necessary.

The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses its hope that the Hungarian party will reconsider this course of its policy with Romania, that it will harmonize the actions with its statements according to which it wishes good neighborly relations between the two countries. The Romanian Foreign Ministry reiterates on this occasion as well, its will to further work for the establishment of relations of mutual confidence and regard between Romania and Hungary, based on the observance of the principles of international laws.

Dijmarescu Leads Delegation on Visit to Italy

AU0512200190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1910 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Rome (ROMPRES) 5/12/1990—A Romanian governmental delegation, headed by Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu, minister of state for economic guidance, began an official visit in Italy, on an invitation from Mr. Francesco Piga, minister of state participation. The delegation will have talks in various economic and political governmental circles.

The delegation comprises experts in various fields and their purpose is to find the most efficient means of economic and financial cooperation.

Roman Interviewed Prior to Latin America Visit

PY0112233090 Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 24 Nov 90 p 7

["Exclusive" interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by Armando Alonso Pineiro in Bucharest "just before his visit to South America"; date not given]

[Text] [Pineiro] It is well known that, with the exception of the disappearance of [Nicolae] Ceausescu, hardly anything has changed in Romania. It is even being said that the current regime is a continuation of the former regime, something very different from similar processes experienced by other Eastern European countries. What is the truth or error of this view?

[Roman] After more than 50 years, Romania is experiencing a rebirth of its democratic institutions under very clear-cut, honest, and modern conditions. Our basic institutions are already functioning under normal conditions from the viewpoint of Western democracy. I am referring to the viability of the multiparty system, to a Parliament with two chambers, to civilian rights, to a free press, to the right to associate, to the government's relations with the supreme national legislative forum, and to the broad democratization of the legislative structure, a process that in itself, is particularly complex. The possibility of accelerating the process is also effectively based on the activity, with an eye to renewal, of the government in its relations with Parliament and the country's president, and, something very important, it is also based on the expertise and spirit of independence and endeavor of those who are to be found at the various decisionmaking levels.

As for the economy, we are facing the moment of truth: We inherited a very difficult situation throughout the production structure, a situation which has become a little more serious in some sectors because most of the infrastructure, installations, and equipment were barely functioning or were not functioning. The economy was in a state of moral and physical weariness. Our decision—rigidly planned to the last detail—to revert to a market economy, which presupposes the abolition of centralized structures to manage the economy, and to replace it "on the march" with free structures in continual liberalization is, moreover, creating the risk of a certain lack of stability, a certain disequilibrium between economic sectors, between enterprises. The freeing of prices—which is a difficult stage in reform, but absolutely necessary to get enterprises to face "the truth" of the market, especially when dealing with the real price of energy and raw materials—also presupposes certain short-term negative effects for the population. The process is absolutely necessary because prices have to be set on the basis of economic laws, viable economic agents have to be encouraged, and the economy has to be reactivated.

Moreover, my government does not support a sudden freeing of the economy. We are proposing a further freeing of the economy along with measures that will ensure protection for the population under conditions permitted by the economic state, thus preserving without modification the retail prices of energy, fuel, and rent for the population until the beginning of 1992. At the same time, we will institute important subsidies for the basic food products. The prices of certain industrial products and services that have a significant effect on the population's consumption will be increased within limits to be established by the government. As for a comparison with other Eastern European countries which began their reforms years ago within communist systems, the difference in Romania lies in the fact that it took place, or had to take place, due to Ceausescu's ever-exasperating totalitarianism. In other words, there was a violent rupture in the structures of the past that involved every sector in which the people's existence is being developed.

[Pineiro] It is obvious that a solid bureaucratic apparatus which refuses to give up part of its power continues to prevail. What can your government do to face this problem, and what is your answer to reports of the partial survival of the nomenklatura?

[Roman] The bureaucracy, the people who do nothing but wait for indications, is a heavy burden inherited from the dictatorial regime; however, due to accelerated implementation of the reform program to simplify organizational structures, bureaucracy can no longer survive. It is going to be eliminated. Only five months after the government was installed, it was reorganized by dismissing all the people who could not make the transition to a market economy and to the process of destruction of a super-centralized economy.

As for the report about the survival of the nomenklatura, all that needs to be done is to study the integration of the current government team; then it will immediately be understood that the report has no basis. This is the slogan preferred by some—though not all—of the opposition, which is using this in an attempt to discredit the revolutionary process.

[Pineiro] About four months ago, the U.S. Government imposed a sanction on Romania by withdrawing its most-favored-nation status. How do you evaluate this sanction, do the causes prevail, and what has your government done to reverse the situation?

[Roman] That status was not withdrawn by the U.S. Government four months ago. The old dictatorial regime unilaterally gave up that status in February 1988 because the regime was facing many problems—especially in the U.S. Congress—in trying to get an extension of the status due to human rights violations in Romania. To be more exact, on 12 February 1988 the old regime informed the U.S. Government that it was giving up an extension of the status under the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, and on 29 February 1988 the Romanian press agency AGERPRES ordered that a public declaration be made. From a legal point of view, the action was concluded a few months later on 22 June 1988 when the two governments signed an agreement to suspend implementation of the most-favored-nation status. These are the facts; therefore, there was no sanction. As for the reasons why the clause has not yet been reestablished, I would like to point out that after the December 1989 revolution, when the government carried out profound, radical changes in domestic and foreign policy, we evaluated our status in relations with the United States. On 9 January 1990, through a Romanian Foreign Ministry declaration, we annulled the old regime's abusive 29 February 1988 declaration that gave up our status. The State Department reacted quickly to our measure and announced: "The administration will work closely with Congress on this issue because reestablishment of the status needs a new authorization from the U.S. President."

Let me say that despite the fact that U.S. businessmen are in favor of reestablishing the status in relations with Romania—it is something that is advantageous to both countries and that we want—the U.S. Administration has postponed a decision on this issue. Since the 20 May 1990 elections—largely due to an incorrect perception that is not so much a result of development of the elections and their results, but to later events—the U.S. Administration has continued to maintain a relatively reserved attitude; it is closely following progress in the democratization of Romanian society and transition to a market economy.

We believe the clause will be reestablished when the U.S. Administration overcomes that perception; that will lead to the complete normalization of U.S.-Romanian relations.

This process is in the development stage, and I believe some substantial progress has already been made in that direction. After January 1990 the commercial agreement and the agreement on civil aviation were extended; talks were also held by experts on the conclusion of an agreement to guarantee investments.

The Romanian-U.S. Economic Council held its first session since the revolution in Bucharest. Recently, on the initiative of the New York Romanian-U.S. Chamber of Commerce, a seminar on privatization was held in Bucharest. A new program for implementation of an intergovernmental exchange agreement on teaching, culture, science, and technology for the 1991-1992 period is almost ready. We can say that bilateral relations in these fields have been greatly reactivated.

[Pineiro] What is the plan to insert Romania into the market economy, and when will it be implemented?

[Roman] This is included in principle in the government program, in the strategy of our economic reform proposal. It is based on the fact that a reorganization of the Romanian economy, of the social situation, cannot be carried out quickly when some of the dictatorship's laws are still in force. To implement a market economy we need a totally new legal framework, which must be approved and put into operation as soon as possible. This is why government reforms began with a real legislative debate. New draft laws were later submitted to Parliament for debate and approval.

The contents of these laws give an almost exact idea of the direction of government actions to insert Romania into the market economy. For example, the laws related to the reorganization of state economic units into autonomous bodies and commercial entities have resulted in basic changes in property by annulling the state as the only owner of production means. This is going to bring profound changes in property. The draft laws proposed so far by the government for preparation of the economic agents and implementation of the principles of a market economy take into consideration the demonopolization of production and trade, the introduction of competition, the elimination of monopoly on foreign trade and exchange transactions, the liberalization of prices, the encouragement of private initiative, the preparation for a large privatization of state enterprises, and the liberalization of access to foreign capital.

The government has also submitted to Parliament draft laws related to land ownership, reform of the banking and financial system, and control measures. In the social

field, the draft laws are related to salaries, collective contracts, unions, labor conflicts, and unemployment. As for the last part of your question, I can tell you that some of these projects have already been put into practice. The vital part of the project is the economy; therefore, we must expedite the process to implement new legislation. To insure appropriate conditions for implementing reforms, the government requested and received from Parliament an extension of rights for the next six months.

[Pineiro] Since my last visit two years ago I have seen a considerable improvement in food supply to the population. There is plenty of bread, coffee, and other products, but other articles, such as sugar, are rationed. There is also a meat shortage. Do you believe this situation prevails because the channels for food distribution are still obsolete, resulting in black market corruption?

[Roman] The evaluation is true: In comparison with 1989, the food supply in 1990 increased by 30 percent. This growth is largely the result of a reinvigoration of the agricultural sector—"the bet" that the government won through the concession of 80 percent of the agricultural lands to the peasants and through the effort to supplement, sometimes with imports, the quantity of fodder for animal and fowl production in the first part of 1990. Regrettably, this summer's drought, the worst in 62 years, had a negative effect on the corn, soybean, and sunflower harvests, obliging us to seek resources through imports to compensate for the deficits.

As for sugar—and you must recall that this is the only product that is rationed—it is very true that we are having some problems with its distribution. This is due to certain delays in complying with import contracts, the hardening of sugar during transport, and the congestion in Constanta Port. Appropriate measures have been adopted to accelerate unloading of the sugar and the dispatch of necessary quantities to refineries.

As for meat and meat products, the quantity of livestock has increased significantly. The lack of adequate facilities to process the animals, store the end products, and transport them are causing certain ups and downs in the normal supply to the commercial network, although the individual producers sell important quantities in the peasant market. We wish to promote international cooperation to restore the capability of processing and distributing meat, which, without a doubt, will lead to an improved supply for the population. As you have also indicated, it is true that a large part of the difficulties we have in supplying the market with basic foodstuffs is due to the persistence of a black market and to corruption. In this respect, we are certain that the freeing of prices will be a cause, among others, for the disappearance of, or at any rate, an attenuation of these harmful social phenomena.

[Pineiro] The former government boastfully, and this is true, stated that it had done away with the foreign debt. According to my reports, there is a current foreign debt of about $800 million. What is your opinion on this, and what will the country's evolution be in this respect?

[Roman] The fact that the former government paid all the foreign debt is a reality that, in the long term, had negative consequences because it led the Romanian people to the limits of poverty and the economy to the brink of collapse. At this time Romania does not have a foreign debt, but with the implementation of a market economy, rehabilitation of some vital economic sectors such as agriculture, the food industry, energy, telecommunications, and the road infrastructure, and restructuring of the metal, chemical, and petrochemical industries, and other sectors, there is a need for foreign credits and investment. Of course, we want a much more direct equity [preceding word in English] investment because it has a greater guarantee to attract the interest of partners due to profits and an adequate management [preceding word in English]. We do not, however, exclude the possibility of resorting to credits. We have already talked with the World Bank and other international financial organizations about this. Moreover, we want those credits applied where they can be profitable and where they can improve market demands, inspire competitiveness, and create jobs.

[Pineiro] What is the current situation in the dispute with Hungary over Transylvania? What solution do you foresee for that problem?

[Roman] From the very beginning, I want to say that the question has no relevance at all because there is no dispute between Romania and Hungary over Transylvania. Because there is no international problem, there is no need for an international solution. I want to add that at the Great Assembly on 1 December 1918 in Alba Iulia, a genuine referendum of the Transylvanian people decided to unite Romania with this very old Romanian territory, birthplace of the Romanian nation, and the 1920 Trianon Peace Treaty approved this treaty internationally. At the end of World War II, the 1946 Paris Treaty annulled the hateful Vienna Diktat, a forceful political action through which Hungary grabbed the northwestern part of Romania. At the same time, I must say that despite the fact that the December 1989 Romanian revolution definitely destroyed the barriers erected by the old regime on the way to affirmation of the rights and liberties of the people who belong to our country's national minority groups, Hungary still considers itself responsible for the Hungarians who live outside Hungarian borders, claiming to be a "mother country," and demanding "special rights for the Hungarian minority group, which is considered a community. In assuming that role, contradicting principles of international law that are also registered in the CSCE Final Act, it is generating tensions that affect relations with Romania and with other countries bordering Hungary and affect the pan-European climate of cooperation based on principles that are generally recognized by international law. The Hungarian Government's attitude is incomprehensible because Romania's current treatment of minority groups allows absolute liberties, much more than those

granted by Hungary to minority groups in that country, including the Romanian group, which has been submitted to a serious Magyarization process.

Considering principles of good neighborliness, the Romanian Government is seeking to develop bilateral relations and constructive talks at different levels. Different steps have been taken in this regard and we hope Hungary will understand its own interests and adjust to European and world standards as far as relations among states are concerned.

[Pineiro] What factors must be encouraged to improve relations between Romania and Latin America, in general, and particularly with Argentina?

[Roman] First is the convergence of orientations and current domestic and foreign policy concerns of the respective governments as a natural expression of the efforts Romania and Latin American countries are making—under difficult and contradictory circumstances at times—for an affirmation and strengthening of law, pluralistic democracy, and full respect for the rights and liberties of man. In accordance with national interests, similar efforts are being made for the development of trade and cooperation with all countries of the world.

Second is the concurrence of their governments on their approach toward major issues of international life.

Third are favorable conditions arising from their Latin origin, their similarities in language, culture, and civilization, their common aspirations, and Romania's and the Latin American countries' opening to the rest of the world to extend their bilateral relations in various fields of common interest.

In addition to the aforementioned factors, as far as Argentina is concerned, I would like to stress the traditional relations between the two countries, relations that began in the last century when an honorary Romanian Consulate operated in Buenos Aires.

In this respect, I must mention the excellent cooperation and friendship that existed in the 1930's between the great Romanian diplomat Nicolae Titulescu and the illustrious Argentine statesman Carlos Saavedra Lamas.

We must take advantages of these favorable conditions to improve traditional relations between Romania and Argentina. The channels would be intensified contacts and dialogue at the government and congressional level and between various active political forces that exist in our two countries.

Very close spiritual rapport would also permit us to fully develop cultural relations between our two countries, human contact, in such a way as to get to know each other better, seek an even greater rapprochement, and take advantage of the great values our peoples have created.

In this respect, the cultural cooperation program that will be signed could have an important role.

As for bilateral economic relations, the profound transformations that are taking place in Romania and Argentina open up excellent prospects for cooperation that will have reciprocal advantages. We must take advantage of these prospects to create or expand the legal framework, allowing economic agents of both countries to make direct, easy contacts in order to work together.

Cooperation between the Chambers of Commerce and other business associations of the two countries could also play an important role, including joint economic cooperation commissions, etc.

[Pineiro] I would not like to conclude this interview without commenting on the fact that I have noted a marked critical attitude due to the contents of the previous questions. I have verified that there is not only an improvement in the supply of food, but I have also—and this is important—noted a different attitude in the people. Previously, the streets of Bucharest were silent and empty, but now they have been invaded by bustling crowds that seem to have emerged from nowhere. Fear and reticence are not breathed anymore; now there is happiness and a genuine air of freedom. As you can see, this is not a question but a final reflection that I ask you to expand and comment upon.

[Roman] Your emphasis cannot help but make us happy. If that evaluation is correct, it means that something truly essential has occurred in Romania despite adverse opinions, something essential that can easily be distinguished by the way the people are behaving. The street, that sensitive barometer that measures the overall state of mind, faithfully registers the quota of freedom that was achieved in December. The time for the extraordinary unleashing of emotion that was brutally, or subtly, repressed for decades is now a thing of the past, and life is now, or should be, on its natural path. In seeking life, in seeking the expression that truly represents them, the people frequently use the street as a place for political action. The street is a stage on which each person plays his role, and many times, due to the love of it, they abandon their work and economic and social organizations. This phenomenon is unavoidable at the dawning of a democracy, and at certain times, it happens in developed democracies, but this cannot be permanent without placing the future of the economy and social life in general in danger. Romania perceives acutely the consequences of a passive approach to work. What is expected of the people now is that above and beyond convictions and political interests, which they can express sufficiently in ways other than the street, the people return to their "tools" in their own and the country's interests. The absence of fear and reticence, the happiness and pure air of freedom should be a motivation, another buttress; material comfort cannot be achieved without productive activity, without a concentration of efforts. No matter how it will be, however, we are happy that Romania is smiling again in a Latin way, and I am convinced that it pleases our Latin brothers, the great Argentine people whom I hope to meet with fraternal esteem and a natural impatience.

Political Groups Hold Meeting With Iliescu

AU0512141290 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 30 Nov 90 p 2

[Sorin Rosca-Stanescu article; "At the Cotroceni Palace: Another Dialogue That Ended in Failure"]

[Text]—President Ion Iliescu did not find the necessary time to meet with the representatives of seven organizations on Tuesday, 27 November, at 1100 in the morning. —"Can those, who are responsible for the assassination of the promoters of the nation's unity, address the people?" —Several organization leaders warn: It is almost impossible to lessen tension in the country. —Will there, nevertheless, be a dialogue with President Iliescu?

On Tuesday, 27 November, at 1100 [0900 GMT] the representatives of the Association of Former Political Detainees, the Independent Group for Democracy, "15 November" Association, Timisoara Society, Students' League, Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army [CADA], and of the Association of War Veterans made their appearance at the entrance of Cotroceni Palace for the meeting (announced by them in the press) with President Ion Iliescu. Several journalists from Bucharest and throughout the country were present. At 1030 hours Messrs. Dan Popescu and Ioan Talpas, counselors to the president, met the delegates. This dialogue lasted for about one hour. The delegates of the aforementioned organizations explained why an immediate meeting with the country's president was needed. They emphasized that events in Romania are presented in a completely unrealistic light by the president. The pent-up serious tension made the organizations in question to request a dialogue to try to lessen this tension. The organization of big demonstrations without violence has become difficult. The country's citizens are concerned about Mr. Stanculescu's [minister of national defense] affirmations according to which the Army may fire at the people. The affirmation made by Mr. Olteanu, government general secretary, "to fire at" the demonstrators has also been a surprise. The emergence of the Socialist Labor Party [PDM], which, in fact, is the former Communist Party, has led to a serious escalation of tension. The same applies to the way in which the celebration of the sacred national day of 1 December is being organized. It was stressed that the country's citizens can, by no means, tolerate that people—who through their former positions and activity contributed directly or indirectly to the assassination of the heroes of the country's unity—address each other in the name of the country at the 1 December Alba Iulia celebration. The question was raised of how it was possible for officers, whose hands are stained with the blood of December revolutionists, to parade through Bucharest's Arch of Triumph in honor of the national holiday. Who takes the liberty of playing with the feelings of the Romanian people? Who takes the liberty of pushing the Romanian people to a civil war? The representative of the 15 November Movement emphasized that he has been given the mandate to sound an alarm signal in connection with the acts of provocation recently organized in Brasov and Bucharest. CADA expressed its profound dissatisfaction with the actions initiated against it. Several police officers have informed CADA members that something has to be done urgently to avoid a serious bloodshed. In turn, the Students' League is dissatisfied because none of the promises made by President Ion Iliescu during the June dialogue has been honored and because of the fact that there is still no report available by the parliamentary commission investigating the 13-15 June events. Through the two counselors, the Independent Group for Democracy appealed to the president to fulfill his mission, namely to mediate between those in power and the opposition, by stressing that after 1 December this dialogue may be tardy.

Despite insistence, the presidential counselors said that they have only been authorized to postpone the dialogue with President Ion Iliescu for a later date, after 1 December.

The representatives of the aforementioned organizations finally accepted the postponement of the dialogue to a date not later than 5 December. It was decided that the Presidency should specify the date and time in a press communique.

Dialogue Fails

AU0512194290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1915 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 5/12/1990—Romania's President, Ion Iliescu, was to meet Wednesday, December 5, at Cotroceni Palace, representatives of some organizations that had expressed the wish to have a dialogue about the country's current problems. Delegates from the "November 15 Brasov" Movement, the "Timisoara" Society, the Independent Group for Democracy, the Association of Former Political Detainees, the Bucharest University Students' League and the Romanian League of War Veterans were invited to that effect.

A number of private persons, now reserve officers, came for the meeting scheduled at ten o'clock a.m. and insisted to take direct part in the talks on behalf of "CADA" [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army], without being able to show any authorization to prove they represented anyone. Mention must be made that in accordance with the National Defence Ministry's resolution, the so-called "Action Committee for Army Democratization" (CADA) was dissolved and therefore cannot be considered the spokesman of any of those who are really responsible for modernizing and reorganizing the Army on new democratic bases.

The news office communique evinces the presidential institution's readiness to start an open and constructive dialogue with representatives of the organizations invited, also admitting those who called themselves "CADA" delegates as private persons. The president's

stand, meant to find a solution to the present situation, was not accepted. The representatives of the organizations invited to meet the president conditioned the dialogue by the recognition of those persons as official delegates of CADA, which would implicitly legitimize that body.

The same refractory attitude, the communique reads, was shown about the way talks were to be reflected by the press. The delegates insisted that a large number of journalists attend the dialogue, although mass media were represented by crews from the television, the radio and the national news agency "ROMPRES."

In fact, the representatives of the aforementioned organizations proved, by their position, that their wish for dialogue was not real, the news office comments, adding that, as far as the presidential institution was concerned, it continued to be open as before to any honest and constructive talks with all social and political forces in order to improve domestic climate and identify the best ways of action for the country's good.

Civic Alliance Notice Publishes Demanding Justice

AU0512114290 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 29 Nov 90 p 1

[Civic Alliance notice—published in large boldface type occupying entire front page]

[Text] THE CIVIC ALLIANCE

—For our martyrs of December 1989,

—For the martyr children of Timisoara and for all the orphans and widows of those who were killed by the "red terror";

—For the millions of peasants, who represent the foundation of this country, robbed of their land and home, of their hard earned acquisitions, uprooted, oppressed, and murdered;

—For the millions of workers, who labored until exhaustion, brought to a despair that made them rise in Valea Jiului [Jiu Valley] in 1977 and in Brasov in 1987;

—For the millions of humiliated intellectuals, systematically exterminated in the Danube-Black Sea Canal, Aiud, Pitest, Sighetul Marmatiei, Rimnicu Sarat, Gherla camps and prison—that is in the entire Romanian Gulag;

—For all the victims of abuses, terror, and crimes carried out in the name of an ideology, hatred, and class struggle, and for all the martyrs of the Romanian people's great sufferings in the past 50 years.

ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE:

—We demand that, the extremist leftist ideology that inspired, generated, and carried out crimes, that protected the guilty from rightful punishment be brought to trial in front of the nation.

—We demand that all those who terrorized this gentle and humane nation for more than 40 years, the conspiracy that seized state power, generated, and installed the most fearsome dictatorship, the children of this conspiracy—the communist nomenklatura—and its armed hand, the political police and SECURITATE, be brought to trial.

—We demand that all unjust laws—starting with the communist constitution—and all structures and institutions of the dictatorial regime be condemned and abolished and all compromised people be replaced.

—We demand that all abusive, antidemocratic, and antihumane measures adopted by the communist regime throughout its existence between 1944-1989 be abolished.

FSN Favors Reestablishment of Old Counties

AU0512145790 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 1 Dec p 4

[National Salvation Front First Vice President Claudiu Iordache-signed note: "The Front in Favor of Former Counties"]

[Text] The restructuring of the entire totalitarian system requires a break of great dimensions in all fields of political, economic, social, administrative, and cultural life.

Within this context, one of the difficulties inherited from the communist system was the abusive abolition of the country's counties and their replacement with local administrative structures, which are completely alien to the Romanian traditions and the local realities specific to our country.

Taking into consideration the need for a thorough reform of the entire Romanian society, the National Salvation Front [FSN] speaks out for the change of the territorial-administrative structure established in 1968, believing that a legal initiative in accordance with numerous claims expressed by the most varied strata of society and social groups, still from the very first days of the December 1989 revolution is required.

Signed: Claudiu Iordache, first vice president of the FSN.

Senate Views Tokes Statements, Entry Visas

AU0512194390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1730 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 5/12/1990—Romania's Senate continued Wednesday its works in plenum. Before approaching the agenda proper, several senators referred to the miners' day and, in the context, to the

hard work they do for the country's benefit, to the miners' social revolts over the times, more particularly in the communist era.

It was also shown that the report of the parliamentary commission inquiring into the June 13-15 events in Bucharest was expected with great interest, especially by miners who, as is known, took part in the events starting June 14.

In the Senate session of December 5 the leader of the majority FSN [National Salvation Front] group, Vasile Vacaru, Gorj senator, submitted an interpellation to Romania's Government and Prime Minister Petre Roman.

The interpellation demands that the Romanian Government advise what attitude it intends to adopt about the actions of Laszlo Tokes who, by statements made in the country and especially abroad, seriously offended the Romanian state, its leaders and parliamentarians elected on May 20, 1990 giving the world a false picture of Romania.

The leader of the majority parliamentary group also demanded that starting December 1990 visas be made compulsory for any foreign citizens visiting Romania, since Romanians in their turn need visas to travel to any other country while a lot of individuals keep coming to Romania for dubious purposes.

The Senate started debating the bill on public finance.

Deputies Assembly Meets; Upcoming Bills Discussed

AU0512194490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1842 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 5/12/1990—Wednesday, the Assembly of Deputies continued its proceedings in its specialized permanent commissions which examined normative acts that are to be debated in plenum next week. The Commission for Agriculture and Food Industry further focused its attention on the bill of real estate. This important document was finalized with the help of the members of the relevant commission of the Senate. The Budget and Financial Commission resumed in its turn the examination of the bill on profit tax.

Working in the morning were also the joint parliamentary commission that elaborates Romania's draft Constitution, the commission inquiring into the 13-15 June events, as well as several commissions of mediation to solve divergencies over normative acts already passed by the Senate and the Assembly of Deputies.

Iliescu, June Events Investigation Commission Meet

AU0512200390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1920 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 5/12/1990—In order to clarify aspects connected with the 13-15 June events, a meeting took place at Cotroceni Palace on Wednesday between Romania's President Ion Iliescu and members of the Parliamentary Inquiry Commission.

Opinions were exchanged on the occasion on the stage of the commission's activity with stress on the need to finalize its conclusions and submit its report to Parliament.

President Ion Iliescu answered numerous questions asked by members of the commission in connection with some disputed aspects.

The interview was not attended by the members of the commission representing the UDMR [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania], the PNT-cd [National Peasants Christian Democratic Party], PNL [National Liberal Party], ecological and social democratic parliamentary groups.

New Movement for National Rebirth Favored

AU0512210690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1905 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 5/12/1990—"The Movement to Fight Communism and Make Romania Whole Again," set up on November 29 on the initiative of the "Alliance for Democracy" Party, released a statement on Wednesday calling for the formation of the "New Romania Movement for National Rebirth and Reconciliation."

Demonstrating the necessity of the movement, the statement shows that "the transition from communism to freedom" through political, economic and social reform, has no other alternative than unity of all political, trade-union, professional associations and independents' forces.

CADA Urges Army Not To Act Against People

AU0612093690 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 29 Nov 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Appeal of the Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army"]

[Text] 1. The Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army [CADA], noting the perpetuation by those in power of the possibility of involving the Army in repressing people's demonstrations, once again appeals to the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense to immediately put an end to such a contingency. We demand the cancellation of telephone dispatch No. 4459/1990 and of the measures code-named "little bell."

At the same time, CADA appeals to the military cadres not to order or execute missions aimed against their own people.

2. Given the intention of the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense to organize a military parade on 1 December which will pass through the Arch of Triumph in Bucharest, CADA appeals to those of the Army's leadership—whose conscience was defiled by serving the Army during Ceausescu's regime and by the criminal attempt to oppose their people last December—to refrain from appearing in the forefront of this event. We view it as a sacrilege that the thousands who pulled the trigger against their fellow-beings should present arms only one year after our nation's sacrifices to remove the dictatorship.

CADA

Army Issues Rebuttal

AU0612093890 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 30 Nov 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Another Communique of the Army"]

[Text] A communique on behalf of the Army Press Section draws attention to the fact that the item published in ROMANIA LIBERA of 29 November entitled "Appeal of the Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army [CADA]," according to which the CADA notes the "perpetuation by those in power of the possibility of involving the Army in repressing people's demonstrations," is completely false. Thus, telephone dispatch No. 4495/1990 was sent on 21 August by a big unit to a single detachment under its jurisdiction in connection with strictly domestic and strictly local problems completely different from what the signatories want to imply. At the same time, code name "little bell" concerns internal measures, which do not apply to the whole Army, and deal with completely different problems than the obsessed thoughts of the former CADA members, thoughts which are generously carried by the daily in question.

Inquiry Commission Queries Roman on June Unrest

AU0412175090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1622 GMT 4 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/12/1990—Today the parliamentary commission inquiring into the 13-15 June events in Bucharest met with Prime Minister Petre Roman. The Romanian premier set forth his opinions on the June events and answered questions asked by deputies and senators.

As is known along the several months it has been operating, the inquiry commission heard personalities of the Romanian political life.

It also had talks with a large number of people who took direct part in the events.

Draskovic Hints at Milosevic Assassination Attempt

AU0512213490 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 90 p 3

[Branka Mitrovic report: "'Assassination of Milosevic'"]

[Text] Belgrade—"Vuk Draskovic wants duels, he is playing the hero and the duelist, he lies, he insults, he does not know how to think, he has no sense of honor, and no one knows whether he will go to heaven or hell. Perhaps he was a servant to Mika Spiljak, whose shoes he shined, and wrote speeches about the socialist realist happiness of small, ordinary workers. Until he departs, he is daring to prepare a shameful and secretly conceived betrayal of Serbia and the Serbian people, offering them nothing but violence and blood."

This is only part of the reaction of Belgrade Television and POLITIKA EKSPRES after Draskovic's appearance on Mitevic's television, and all Milosevic's amenable press have informed us that viewers are bitter because of the impertinent insults to the reputable information houses. On Tuesday evening [20 November], almost half of Belgrade Television's main newscast was devoted to the studio presentation of the Serbian Renewal Movement in which Draskovic's every word was weighed in detail.

Not one counterargument, however, was heard in reply to Draskovic's detailed explanation of the sums of money that are paid into the accounts of nonexistent social organizations and of the planned theft of apartments "before elections are held because one did not know what would happen" or in reply to other numerous direct accusations. Because some of these were directed at Slobodan Milosevic, his speech in Nis is awaited with great impatience. A new Milosevic lecture is expected although, for example, BORBA reports that not exactly everyone is overjoyed at his visit to this town.

The Democratic Party, the Serbian Renewal Movement, and the People's Radical Party have sent a personal letter to Milosevic, a letter claiming that the citizens of Nis, the Nis region, and south Serbia were astounded to hear the disinformation that they had supposedly asked for a people's rally to be held. They had not issued this initiative nor had they signed a petition to this effect, and they did not agree with the fact that Milosevic was holding an election meeting in his capacity as state president and agitating for the Socialist Party of Serbia among state organs and at the expense of the state budget.

Vuk Draskovic, who is not overly surprised at the latest attacks on him, has been saying that an assassination attempt is supposedly being prepared against Milosevic! This has been reported to the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement by people in the field and members of the state security service who, as Draskovic has said on several occasions, sympathize with him in virtually all towns in Serbia. Of course, Draskovic says, nothing will happen to the president but the party of "Vukites" would be accused of this act. Of the man running against him, Draskovic says: "We have a dishonorable opponent. It is possible that I have been misinformed, but it would not be the first time that something happened in the organization of the Socialist Party of Serbia and the Serbian Renewal Movement was blamed for it, so I think that it would not be a bad thing if I publicize this," the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement said. He himself will speak in Nis the day after Milosevic's speech. Draskovic will appear in Zajecar and Belgrade Television has been sent an official request to follow the meeting for its second news program. This means that Draskovic has also given himself room to reply to Milosevic.

Serbia's Milosevic Delivers Speech in Novi Sad

AU0512203090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Report on speech by Slobodan Milosvic, president of the Presidency Republic of Serbia, by Mirjana Trajkovic and Aleksandar Ljubicic; at a rally in Novi Sad; date not given]

[Text] [Trajkovic] On the square in front of the Vojvodina sports center, Slobodan Milosevic was welcomed warmly and with occasional ovations by what has been officially estimated as 150,000 people from Novi Sad and other towns in Vojvodina and Serbia, including a group of people from Kosovo Polje.

The meeting in Novi Sad was also attended by small groups of supporters of the Serbian Renewal Movement. Your reporters noticed two of these because one was removed before the meeting began while members of the other group remained almost until the end, holding an election banner of the Serbian Renewal Movement and a picture of Vuk Draskovic.

The situation in Novi Sad is almost identical to those in Nis, Bor, and other towns. The anthem "Hey Slavs" began the meeting while it ended with the celebratory song "Yugoslavia." There are a plethora of Yugoslav and Serbian flags, as well as flags of the Socialist Party of Serbia, and banners of support for the Socialists.

[Begin recording] [Ljubicic] Welcoming the respected citizens, Dr. Radoman Bozovic, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, said that the multiparty democratic elections in Serbia will be elections of the people and not a division of power between parties. They should provide a parliament for Serbia, [words indistinct], a state with sufficient freedom for everyone and no room for conflicts about the past.

The gathered citizens were then addressed by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Serbia, who said:

[Milosevic] Comrades, citizens of Novi Sad, citizens of Vojvodina: It has given me the greatest pleasure to come to Novi Sad and Vojvodina, which was among the first to set off the chain of great changes in Serbia aimed at creating conditions for the political and economic reform of Serbia through the process of democratization and by regulating the status of our republic in the Yugoslav community.

Apart from that, the citizens of Vojvodina have made a great and, I would dare to say, almost historic contribution to efforts to put a stop to the agony of the Serbian people in Kosovo and to end the tragedy [applause] to end the tragedy [Milosevic repeats himself] that has been looming over the lonely minority of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins who were abandoned for several decades by everyone. I am, therefore, convinced that now, too, when Serbia is again finding it difficult because it has been exposed to political conflicts for months, the citizens of Vojvodina will for their part help these conflicts to end democratically at the elections, and that they will come out of them in the right way, on the road to the peace, prosperity, and equality that citizens and peoples deserve and which is also the only way to survive.

Regardless of whether it bothers anyone, I will again say that the policy of peace, independence, economic prosperity, and equality among people and nations is not only the best policy, but the only one that a reasonable person can choose. [applause] This is particularly true if one bears in mind the conditions under which we are now living: crazy interethnic hatred that is threatening to lead us into civil war, pretensions outside Yugoslavia toward its sovereignty, and a galloping economic crisis that threatens to make us the greatest European paupers.

It is the duty of every citizen to oppose such a course of events and, therefore, if anyone reproaches us for wanting to live, work, and bring up our children in peace, then these reproaches show that we have work to do, not only with people who are not well-intentioned and the enemies of Serbia, but with people's enemies in general with sinister thoughts and base morals. [cheers]

We really no longer have either the time or reason to once again perish, to postpone into infinity our peaceful and balanced development until we have reached agreement with everyone and particularly among ourselves. We do not have either the time or reason to only analyze our errors for the umpteenth time, look for culprits, pass judgments, and waste time, intelligence, and room in newspapers in settling accounts with people who exited the political stage a long time ago, with the times that have gone, and with ideas that have never even been realized.

Futile settling of accounts [Milosevic repeats himself] futile settling of accounts will deprive us of valuable time. Intelligent people will find themselves doing pointless work. We will make young people unemployed and confused if we do not renounce our obedience to the primitive, destructive, and malicious spirit within us. [cheers]

Comrades, with these words I am addressing the citizens of Novi Sad and the citizens of Vojvodina, convinced that they more than perhaps anyone else in Yugoslavia know that together they can work successfully, and people of different nations and different cultures can live in harmony and at the same time aspire to become closer and increasingly similar by abandoning mutual differences. [cheers]

By living together, the citizens of Vojvodina have so far offered an example to Serbia and to Yugoslavia that equality, harmony, goodwill, and general solidarity among people are not, even under today's conditions, the empty and Utopian slogans of unreasonable politicians. On the contrary, these concepts are viable possibilities, and in the future this will determine the only realistic relations among people if they want to live successfully and humanely.

I am stressing this here because it is in fact here in Vojvodina that ideas have been promoted recently of a false Yugoslavism. These ideas are false because, [Milosevic repeats himself] are false because they are calculated to frighten other peoples, and especially members of nationalities, away from Serbia and the Serbian people. [end recording]

Defense Secretariat Rejects Draskovic Vote Claims

LD0412205990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 4 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—During his television appearance last night, presidential candidate Vuk Draskovic uttered a number of serious lies about the Yugoslav People's Army and the Federal Secretary for National Defense, states the information department of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense in a statement today.

The statement describes as unsubstantiated Draskovic's claim that Army personnel—officers and civilians—will be able to vote three times. Like other citizens, they will exercise their right to vote only in their local communities.

It is not truth that some Army units have, for political reasons and in a calculating way, called up reservists to a military exercise at the time of the elections. It is obvious that there was no way in which the call-up papers could have been sent selectively to members of individual parties only.

Vuk Draskovic's accusation that the interview given by the Federal Secretary National Defense to defense-political commentator Miroslav Lazanski was an ultimatum to the Serbian people is a pure fabrication and an

example of blatant abuse of the spoken word, the statement says. Providing he has read the interview, a candidate for the president of a republic should have grasped its gist and its main message, which can be interpreted as an appeal for preserving Yugoslavia as a united country and for resolving the Yugoslav crisis democratically.

Unlike Vuk Draskovic and other proponents of Chetnik, Ustasha and other similar ideologies, most of our people understand what the message was all about. This is borne out by the great number of telegrams of support for Kadijevic's views sent by individuals and collectives from all over Yugoslavia, the statement of the information department of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense stresses.

Apathy Characterizes Election Atmosphere in Kosovo

AU0512185190 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 90 p 7

[R. Mance and Sh. Ukaj report: "Elections Without Albanians"]

[Text] Pristina—If Albanians indeed accept the call of the united opposition to boycott elections scheduled for 9 December, the election results will be subject to serious doubt. This fact is also emphasized in the statement that Vukica Andric, secretary of the electoral commission of the Kosovo Assembly, gave to us. According to her, out of the 910,000 registered voters in Kosovo as many as 700,000 are Albanians. If the predictions about Albanians boycotting the unfree elections—as they are referred to here—turn out to be true, the electorate will be reduced to 200,000.

All Moves Are Anti-Albanian

It is interesting that among more than 100 candidates for deputies of the Serbian Assembly there are only four Albanian candidates. What is also characteristic is that there is not one single Albanian in any of the 34 electoral commissions (covering 1,343 polling stations) in Kosovo. Those few who did find themselves on the lists, but not, as they say, through their own will, asked that their names be removed. Considering the circumstances under which the first multiparty elections in the province are being prepared, it is difficult to say what the outcome is going to be and whether the election, in which the entire Albanian population will probably not take part, can be considered legal at all.

Out of the 53 registered parties in Serbia, the Socialist Party of Serbia, the Serbian Renewal Movement, the Party of Democratic Action, the Democratic Alliance of Turks, the Party of Romanies, and the Radical Party will have candidates in Kosovo. The electorate will be electing 34 people's deputies to the Serbian Assembly and the president of the republic. The election of deputies for the Kosovo Assembly and communal assemblies will be held later. Our question about when this would happen, was not answered.

Preelection Apathy

Polling stations will be open between 0700 and 1900 on 9 December. Voting will be carried out in accordance with the voters lists that came from Serbia. Identity cards and passports will also be accepted. At present, there is very little here that reminds one of the usual preelection campaigns and atmosphere. There are no election rallies, propaganda, or preelection messages. There are not even posters or leaflets. Only the occasional building is plastered with a poster of Slobodan Milosevic.

Answering the question of our reporters whether any foreign journalists or observers are present here, Vukica Andric said that she did not know anything about that because all activities were carried out via the republican electoral commission of Serbia.

Raskovic Denies Involvement in Knin Crimes

AU0612085990 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 90 p 4

[Interview with President of the Serbian Democratic Party Jovan Raskovic by Jadranka Klisovic; date and place not given: "The Crimes Are Not From the Barricades"; first paragraph is VJESNIK introduction]

[Excerpts] It is my profound conviction that the culprits are not members of the Serbian Democratic Party, so I am all the more interested in the perpetrator being discovered, as well as their motives, Dr. Jovan Raskovic said in reply to a question on whether the Serbian Democratic Party was involved in the crime that took place not far from Prezid during which a militiaman was killed while carrying out his normal duties and another received serious bodily injuries. He stressed that he had also said earlier that such crimes were directed against both the Serbian people and the Croatian people.

[Klisovic] Do you suspect anyone?

[Raskovic] One can only condemn this crime, and all the more so because it was perpetrated in the dark, by ambush. It is anti-Serbian and is an example of aggressive behavior that Serbs have so far not demonstrated. The pendulum of suspicion swings between Serbian and Croatian perpetrators. There are many groups in Croatia today that desire unrest, but they are divided into two circles. The first is intense Croatian nationalism, and the other is a pro- Serbian circle. In this circle, they think that the Serbian parties in Croatia, and particularly the Serbian Democratic Party, are conducting a mild policy toward Croatia and its leadership and are therefore in some way capitulating. [passage omitted]

[Klisovic] Who is responsible for the barricades and the mining of roads?

[Raskovic] We are not responsible for the barricades and blowing up roads. True, we have accepted those people on the barricades who so spontaneously defended not only their dignity but also behaved according to their

feelings and defended their lives. We did not oppose them, but we introduced into all this elements of order and some kind of control so that there would not be conflict. The recent crimes have not been crimes from the barricades. They would probably have happened had there not been any obstacles on the roads. The most important thing is to preserve peace and not to spread an emotional feeling concerning these tragic events.

[Klisovic] It is being said that the armed guards who are carrying weapons and who are stopping vehicles on the roads in the Knin region, checking the identification of travelers, stealing from them, badly treating them, hurting them, and killing them are not people from this region but people from other parts of the country, hirelings.

[Raskovic] I could not confirm this nor could I deny it. As president of the party I have never thought that the party's more permanent policy could be defended even with benevolent barricades if such things could exist. Nevertheless, it seems to me that hostile barricades exist which are dangerous, threatening, and murderous. I deeply despise these barricades, first of all as a person and then as a politician.

[Klisovic] Can you as president of the Serbian Democratic Party who enjoys the trust of part of the Serbian people in Croatia influence the events? How tightly do you hold the strings?

[Raskovic] Up until recently, these barricades have been a defense and demonstration of security. I have not been breaking them up. However, I will fight both as a person and as a politician against harmful barricades which cannot in anyway be accepted as protection. [passage omitted]

I Am Not a Politician

[Klisovic] Can you, as president of the Serbian Democratic Party, avoid responsibility for the crimes being perpetrated on the barricades?

[Raskovic] This is pure deceit. I have advocated the establishment of a Serbian national entity and any thought of physical aggression has always been alien to me. Everything I have done for the Serbian people in Croatia can be reduced to the fact that I have awakened their suppressed national feelings. I have never been and do not want to be a politician.

I have never claimed, but I am claiming now, that barricades are not the way to defend the Serbian people. I do not support those who are arming the people. It is my great desire to stifle all hatred and begin talks. [passage omitted]

Slovene Socialists View Decision on Plebiscite

AU0512153590 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] The Presidium of the Slovene Socialist Party today issued a brief statement concerning the plebiscite. The Demos' proposal that a relative majority should be sufficient for the success of the plebiscite—that is, that only 25 percent of people will in fact make the decision—is violating the principle that the plebiscite must be an expression of the legitimate will of the people. The Socialists say in their statement that the Demos' proposal shows a complete lack of confidence of the ruling coalition in the Slovenes and turns the plebiscite in advance into a staged farce.

The Socialists consider the setting up of such a shameful quorum not to be a serious and reasonable undertaking and to mean a lack of confidence in the electorate and the parties which have decided in favor of Slovenia's independence.

It is said further in the statement issued by the Socialist Party that because the Socialists harbor no doubt that, despite all the problems, a large majority of people have stated their preference for Slovenia's independence, we shall keep supporting the kind of regulation that would make the plebiscite successful only in the case a majority of voters votes in favor of it.

Croatia: Proposed Federal Budget 'Unacceptable'

LD0512154290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1040 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—The proposed federal budget is unacceptable for Croatia. On the eve of the Croat Assembly session tomorrow, the above Croatian republican government stand was accepted by the Croat Assembly Committee for Budget and Finance without discussion.

According to the Croat government evaluation presented by Finance Minister Dr. Marijan Hanzekovic, the proposed federal budget is unrealistically excessive and there are no sources [of revenue] to meet it. Some of the proposed sources, bonds for example, can hardly be tapped. The deputies believe a political agreement must be reached on the way the federation is financed, and the proposed budget cannot obtain a pass mark.

Committee members approved the proposed republican budget. It will be a very careful budget, said the finance minister, because it amounts to less than 60 billion dinars, although over 80 billion dinars was requested.

Dr. Hanzekovic explained that the proposed Croatian budget had been drawn up on the assumption that in 1991 Yugoslavia will be a confederation in which custom duties and republican quota payments will be the only revenue of the federal administration, and the army, ex-veteran, and war-disabled welfare and federal administration the only expenditure.

The Croatian budget next year anticipates a mild reduction of all forms of taxation of the citizens and of the economy, and a very economy-minded behavior on the part of republican authorities.

Trade Union Committee Assesses Strike Results

LD0512191390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1748 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb, December 5 (TANJUG)—The Strike Committee of the Independent Trade Union of Metal Workers of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia assessed that the goal of their general strike today was achieved "to a certain degree."

The assessment is based on a change in the Croatian Government's stand, and was expressed by President of the Trade Union of Metal Workers of this republic Ivica Jakopcevic at a press conference today.

Jakopcevic said that the Croatian Government was beginning to comprehend the gravity of the socio-economic position of workers and was beginning to consider solutions to this problem. The government seems to have given up its thesis that the strike was motivated by political, and not socio-economic reasons.

In that sense, last night's speech by Croatian Prime Minister Josip Manolic on the television show "[word indistinct] Krupnom Planu" ("In The focus") was assessed as welcome.

The new stand of the Croatian Government also resulted in a somewhat smaller response by workers today, the metal workers trade union assessed. According to incomplete figures, more than 62,800 workers took part in the strike.

Markovic, Gligorijevic Meet FEC Representatives

LD0512102390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1520 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—The adoption of laws that will ensure functioning of our economic system and the state is the most important task which, with republican and provincial assemblies cooperating with the FEC [Federal Executive Council], should be achieved in the SFRY Assembly. This was stated at today's meeting of SFRY Assembly President Slobodan Gligorijevic with representatives of republican and provincial assemblies, and the FEC leadership.

The quantity of this that will have been achieved by the end of the year will depend on the agreement of republican assemblies on the package of measures of economic policy which the FEC has already sent to the SFRY Assembly. FEC President Ante Markovic and FEC Vice President Aleksandar Mitrovic particularly underlined a need for the adoption of amendments to the SFRY Constitution until the end of the year. They, Mitrovic said, represent a constitutional and legal framework of a democratic and parliamentary procedure for agreements on economic and social reform. [passage omitted]

The most acute problem, according to Mitrovic, is the question of amendments to the Constitution. Dwelling on this issue, FEC President Ante Markovic stressed that amendments as a constitutional and legal framework of democratic and parliamentary procedure for further agreements on economic and social reform should be adopted by the end of this year. Markovic informed those attending the meeting about FEC activities in this connection. The FEC held talks with Croatian authorities, after which it is to be expected that the [Croatian] Assembly will give its consent to 20 out of 25 proposed amendments, instead of giving its consent to only five.

Replying to a remark by Serbian Assembly President Zoran Sokolovic that the Serbian Assembly did not give its consent, and that it also has its objections, Markovic expressed the FEC's readiness to embark upon talks with Serbia as early as tomorrow to reach a mutually acceptable minimum that can be reached at this moment so that issues that can be agreed upon are adopted. This does not mean that work on other amendments would be stopped, Markovic added.

The FEC president assessed that chances for the measures of economic policy to be adopted at the December session of the Chamber [of Republics and Provinces], or whether it would be better to leave this until January, should be reconsidered. He also appealed to the republican assemblies to refrain from adopting anticonstitutional decisions that would hamper the functioning of the state. [passage omitted]

Jovic Gives Speech; Advocates United SFRY

LD0512101590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1019 GMT 4 Dec 90

[Speech by SFRY Prsidency President Borisav Jovic in Titovo Uzice; date not given]

[Text] Titovo Uzice, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—The next few days and months will determine, to a large extent, the future of our country and its peoples. All open questions and all the dilemmas of our dramatic present and of our future have been placed on the agenda. Also on the agenda are the future of Serbia and the fate of Yugoslavia. Seldom in the history of our peoples have so many questions [words indistinct] the subject of solutions and decisionmaking. A decision is being made on whether we go down the path of cooperation or down the path of conflict, whether we will go down the road of integration or down the road of separation, and whether we go down the road of prosperity or stagnation.

This time citizens will decide at the forthcoming elections on the future of Serbia and thus also in large measure on the future of Yugoslavia, because the further development of events will depend in large measure on who will be entrusted with the leadership of the republic

and also, through this, of Yugoslavia. Serbia and Yugoslavia have a crucial interest in building their own future, together with other European states, on the bases of peace and cooperation, equality, democracy, and freedom.

We are witnesses of the latest decisions of Europe to definitively abandon the cold war, end military and ideological confrontations, reduce armaments, and develop trust between states and peoples. If Europe, together with the United States and Canada, with so many different nations and states, histories, cultures, and interests, is in a position to abandon definitively the era of warmongering and self-destruction and embark upon an era of trust and cooperation, then it would be incomprehensible and inconceivable for discord and confrontations to continue in Yugoslavia.

Stability and trust among European countries are producing new favorable conditions for progress and prosperity of each country on its own territory; this also applying to our country, on the basis of the overall scientific and technological progress and trends in technology, capital, and knowledge without previous numerous limitations. It will mostly depend on us whether our country will be able to make a successful use of that. We shall achieve this best if we find a way to overcome our intranational and interrepublic conflicts and disagreements in a peaceful and sensible way not to isolate ourselves from the rest of the world and remain on the outskirts of European prosperity.

Europe and the world think highly of our attempts to implement political and economic reforms and are ready to support us in doing so, but we have to show our partners that we are sure that a positive resolution of our political problems can be achieved in a peaceful and democratic way and that Yugoslavia will not become a hotbed of crisis in the Balkans and Europe.

We have to ensure this in any case because our citizens and nations prefer peace and prosperity. At this politically crucially important moment for all our nations, citizens should think twice whether their vote in elections will contribute to these national interests and goals. It should be openly stressed that there are too many destructive and too few cohesive forces in our country which are now trying to get support in Serbia as well. It is high time we put an end to it. Such destructive tendencies in Serbia can now be best prevented by voters, and this is the most democratic way of fighting them.

Europe and the world are surprised that in our country such destructive behaviors toward one's own country could evolve to such a high degree and that at the end of the 20th century nationalistic passions could grow to such an extent as to threaten the very survival of the country.

[Words indistinct] the victory of forces that will work for a democratic search for solutions to the future of our common homeland of Yugoslavia or the forces will win here which aspire to its destruction and dismemberment. After all, it is obvious that the upper limit has been reached in Yugoslavia of the expression of interrepublican and ethnic difference and conflict and that everyone is awaiting the outcome of the crisis. With the completion of the parliamentary multiparty elections in all the republics, a start is expected in the equal talks on a common future on the basis of common sense and tolerance. Regarding the leadership of Serbia, it has considered that negotiations up to this time have been both possible and necessary, but in certain environments these talks have been avoided and there has been adherence exclusively to the following stances: either a confederation or secession, while in fact they worked for their own special changes to the country's constitutional order.

We have agreed in the federation and with the republics that the existing SFRY Constitution has many weaknesses and that it should be changed. A common constitution in a common state can, of course, only be changed by agreement in a constitutionally established way. To this end the SFRY Presidency has launched a specific initiative, and a debate is under way. Despite this, the leadership of individual republics are persistently, onesidedly and arbitrarily changing the system as set out by the SFRY Constitution in their own territory, thereby infringing the commonly established rights and interests of others. The federal organs have unfortunately been hesitating for a long time in taking decisive measures to prevent this and ensure equality for everyone, which inevitably had to provoke reactions amongst those affected in this way, to defend themselves by the adoption of their own countermeasures and laws.

Both Europe and the world have emphasized their interest in Yugoslavia's stability and unity. The time has come to put an end to threats against and to atempts to ruin the country as they can lead to conflicts and bloodshed. Anticonstitutional and unlawful actions must be countered by all constitutionally foreseen devices at the state's disposal.

Today Serbia is the most stable part of Yugoslavia and, undoubtedly, the most important factor of its unity and survival on equal footing with other Yugoslav nations and republics.

Upcoming democratic elections reflect Serbia's readiness to make its fresh contribution to democracy and to bring Yugoslavia closer to present-day Europe. Just because it has won the battle for equal status in the SFRY Serbia has become the butt of unscrupulous witch-hunt and accusations of being bolshevist. It is not well known or perhaps it is being deliberately ignored that Serbia was the most affected victim of Bolshevism and that it made the largest contribution to its downfall and to reforms in Yugoslavia. It is no coincidence that Serbia's present leadership enjoys such a reputation among its people and citizens. This would not be possible if the republic had not rid itself of ideological dogmas and prejudices.

The Serbian people have strong freedom-loving and democratic traditions, the renaissance of which occurred thanks to its present leadership. That leadership, strongly supported by the people, toppled the old bureaucratic leadership and united Serbia, bringing it equality within the Yugoslav community.

Serbia was the first in Yugoslavia to develop ideas of the market-oriented economic reform and is now implementing it with resolve. Serbia, as a country with the longest democratic traditions in this part of the world, opted for a multiparty political system and free elections and is now putting this into practice in a constitutional and democratic way. By toppling the old bureaucratic leadership it resolutely put an end to the persecution of lawyers, philosophers, and sociologists because they think differently from the official government, it stopped the persecution of poets and writers because in their artistic way they depict reality, historians because they reveal historic facts which do not suit the leadership, and so on.

The creative freedom and citizens' freedom are best confirmed in Serbia's new constitution. According to all these criteria Serbia is ready for Europe, regardless of some malicious swindles done to it be vicious propaganda.

Let us repeat again and again for those who do not understand or simply refuse to understand everything that has been happening in Kosovo and Metohija that the Albanians in Kosovo have all the civil rights and freedoms as guaranteed under the Constitutions of Serbia and Yugoslavia. They will, however, never be given the right to establish a new Albanian state on the territory of Serbia—that is, Yugoslavia. The conflict in Kosovo and Metohija is not over human rights, as some insist. We are faced there with most blatant attempts to undermine the country's integrity. This we cannot and will not allow. In their vehement propaganda against Serbia and Serbian leadership—both of which are proud of their socialist orientation based on freedom, democracy, market economy, and social justice—self-professed guardians have been expressed their concern about the elections in Serbia and whether they will be correct and democratic. The elections will be correct and democratic. If they are so concerned with correctness, these guardians should openly admit that their aim is neither democracy nor correctness but the downfall of the Serbian leadership and the replacement of the socialist with the capitalist system. Citizens of Serbia will decide on these issues independently, regardless of the pressure brought to bear upon them. The people of Serbia will not be taken in by attempts to blame the republic's present leadership for all the mistakes and weaknesses of the preceding period and even for those which prompted the present leaders to topple those who preceded them. We accept the responsibility for everything that has happened in the republic over the last three years since we came to power and are prepared to face the people.

The citizens of Serbia know very well that regressive forces which are now raising their heads and who wish to turn the clock back have by now caused enough misery and have brought enough shame on Serbia and the Serbian nation to expect to be entrusted with people's confidence, whatever their flattering electoral promises. Furthermore, they have been promising "castles in the air" despite the fact that they have no realistic base for it.

We must bear in mind that every step toward progress and prosperity requires enormous efforts and a high degree of unity. Effort, concord, and unity are in Serbia main prerequisites for progress.

To manage a state is a complex and responsible task, especially under present circumstances in our country. To pull the country out of the present difficult political and economic crisis requires a great deal of knowledge, competence, honesty, tolerance, and presistance. To hand over the country to someone just because he says he possesses the necessary capability is a great risk. Incompetent leadership could jeopardize the prosperity of the entire nation. Such a mistake would be tantamount to a tragedy and our recent history was taught us that such mistakes are possible.

I firmly believe that the Serbian people's valuable experience will help them to choose capable and honest people who will justify the confidence they are entrusted with in the struggle for freedom, democracy, for unity, for the prosperity of their republic, and for social justice. Malicious expectations of those who want Serbia to abandon its freedom-loving tradition and to denigrate its glorious history will not be met.

Those who have been promising happiness through conflicts and clashes will take our people directly into the whirlpool of war and bloodshed. We should not deceive ourselves by thinking that slogans to such an effect will be used during the election campaign alone to be abandoned once elections are over. Past experiences in our country speak against such expectations. Those who win with the help of such slogans become their long-lasting prisoners and have to continue to perpetuate their euphoric messages while ignoring the possibility of catastrophic consequences.

I firmly believe that, as before in its glorious history, Serbia will again choose the right way.

'Movement for Yugoslavia' Holds News Conference

LD0512165290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—The first conference of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia [LC-MY] will be held on 24 December in Belgrade's Sava Center in the presence of 300 delegates from all parts of Yugoslavia. This was announced by representatives of this newly-formed party at a news conference today.

According to Nikola Matovski, chairman of the main LC-MY initiative committee, the initiative to form the LC-MY, which has already been registered as party at the Federal level, was received with exceptional response throughout the country. As he put it, local initiative committee have been set up at a fast pace. Since the launch of the party on 19 November, as many as 30,000 registration papers have already been distributed.

Speaking about the new party's attitude to the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], Matovski said that the LC members in the army will shortly declare their views on the initiatives to form the LC-MY. he went on to note that the Alliance of Reformist Forces is neither the LC-MY's partner nor opponent. We endorse the reforms and its results so far, despite our differing views about socially-owned property. We do not want it sold off, but we will continue to cooperate with the Alliance of Reformist Forces, since we share their view on federation, on a single defense system, and on foreign policy.

Matovski described as "rather correct" the LC-MY's relations with the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] but noted that first contacts between the two parties would be made only after the elections in Serbia. At the same time he denied that the LC-MY was merely a branch of the SPS. We are neither a military nor a Serbian or a national party. He also said that the Socialist Party of Croatia "had expressed interest in joining the LC-MY as a collective member."

Captain Boris Legner stressed that the LC-MY endorsed the ONO and DSZ [all-people's defense and social self-protection] concept. According to him, the theses that "the formation of the LC-MY represents a military putsch via a political device" are "an insinuation and stupidity." The LCY Organization in the JNA was involved in the formation of the new party, but according to Legner, this amounts to "The implementation of the decisions of the LCY 14th Special Congress."

The LC-MY initiative committee works autonomously and independently of the JNA and of the LCY Organization in the armed forces, he noted, adding that the possible affiliation of the LCY Organization in the JNA in the newly formed Communist Party will be decided by the Organization itself. However, Legner stressed that party rivalry will not be allowed among Army personnel.

Gol-Gen. Stevan Mirkovic (Rtd) made it clear that the "LCY Organization will leave the JNA when the law on this has been passed." However, he predicted that this will be "very soon" because unless this happened, other parties too could set up their organizations within the army ranks, and this would be unacceptable. He said that the LC-MY intends to contest Federal Elections. He made the assessment that the committee for the preparation of the Congress of democratic and program reform of the LCY, which he called "Ivanovic's committee" had not been successful because there had been no consensus and had landed in a "blind alley."

Mirkovic said that the view of the committee itself was that it should cease working because "It served nothing and the matter should be taken over by the initiative committee of the LC-MY." The LC of Bosnia and Hercegovina, the LC of Montenegro, the LCY Organization in the JNA, and the Socialist Party of Serbia will voice their views on this. The question of LCY property is tied up with this because the LC-MY as acting as a political and legal successor of the LC. One must be patient, there will be many talks, said Mirkovic, "and we do not wish to do things in a hurry."

Franc Cengle reiterated the new party's well-known commitment to Federal Yugoslavia and democratic socialism. Branko Rakocevic rejected the "denigration of everything that happened during the past 45 years" calling it a denial of the dignity of all Yugoslavs. "Fortunately the parasites and the chameleons are leaving our ranks," he said, calling on the members "to raise aloft their heads" because "the LC-MY will not leave them in the lurch, and surrender them to the Chetnik daggers and Utasha hammers."

As far as the attitude toward Josip Broz Tito is concerned, Rakocevic stressed his enormous role in the struggle for the liberation and prevention of a fratricidal war. Throughout the world, he said, we are recognized by reference to Tito, but we shall express our views honestly and critically on all his mistakes. At the same time Rakocevic expressed his conviction that "the people around Tito were more responsible for the mistakes than the man himself."

Deputy Defense Secretary on Illegal Armed Groups

LD0512185890 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Dec 90

[Text] All illegally set up armed formations will be disbanded and disarmed. This was stated by Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense, today during the session of the National Defense Committee of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber.

For most part the session, which was expected to review the security situation in the country, was occupied with the discussion of recent statements by either active or retired army officers such as Branko Mamula, Stevan Mirkovic, Veljko Kadijevic, and Petar Gracanin. Emil Kostomaj saw their statements as being explicitly negative views of the Army's role. He called on the government to disassociate itself from Veljko Kadijevic's statement, and that by Ivo Divic. Viktorija Potocnik and Vilko Jelen reiterated their demand that the Army should be depoliticized. They stressed that unless it adjusts its role to the processes of democratization, the Army will dig its own grave.

In his response to the above accusations, Stane Brovet rejected interpretations according to which Veljko Kadijevic had been threatened with the use of force and with halting democratic processes. I hope that no one denies Veljko Kadijevic his right to express his views of our

reality and especially those concerning the country's national level were in accordance with the Constitution and law and that all illegally set-up formations would be disbanded and disarmed.

In his response to Veljko Kadijevic's interview, Vlado Kambovski, federal justice secretary, said: The statement by the federal secretary for national defense is an appeal to use restraint in making rash moves thus creating a constructive atmosphere for a dialogue about Yugoslavia's future.

Paper Criticizes Army Generals' Remarks

LD0512110290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2315 GMT 4 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—"There can be no doubt now: the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] has now openly identified itself as an armed political force and is even threatening to take over power," says 'DELO' in its commentary: "The Generals Are Spoiling It All."

"As a result, the development of the Yugoslav crisis is entering a key but not an unexpected phase, because only incorrigibly naive people could have hoped that the Army would stand aside. What happens is that the Army sees and understands the world in its own way, and sooner or later one had to get into a situation when it occurred to them that they had to appear on the scene and unravel events through force. The only trouble is that whenever the generals dabble in politics, they only spoil it all."

The latest media utterances by Branko Mamula, Veljko Kadijevic, and other protagonists of the so-called Army top brass (at the moment the expression sounds like a synonym for a putschist club) testify to an incredible political dilettantism of these "saviors of Yugoslavia." It is well known that the ideologist of the group is Branko Mamula, who during the last decade updated the Yugoslav Army philosophy, but the philosophy remained firmly on the "eternal truths' of Leninism and Titoism. As a pensioner, Mamula can now say whatever takes his fancy—unless he were to reveal military secrets—but public utterances by his disciple and successor, Veljko Kadijevic, are all the more controversial. In recent months, he has not only broken all the rules of a state which is governed by law, but has also intimated actions which will be in flat contradiction with the Constitution. In any normal state, he would have been put on trial for his statements, let alone his actions, says 'DELO.'